



Jowa.
Shifflet
Imperial

Johnson f. 1848

**THE
BEGGAR'S COMPLAINT,**

AGAINST

**RACK-RENT LANDLORDS, CORN FACTORS, GREAT
FARMERS, MONOPOLIZERS, PAPER MONEY
MAKERS, AND WAR,**

and many other

Oppressors and Oppressions.

ALSO,

SOME OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

CONDUCT OF THE LUDDITES,

In Reference to the

Destruction of Machinery,

&c. &c.

BY ONE WHO PITIES THE OPPRESSED.

*" Nature and time destroy the vain opinions of the day,
But sooner or later confirm the dictates of wisdom. "* **CICERO.**

THE SECOND EDITION GREATLY ENLARGED.

SHEFFIELD :

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MAXIMS.

THE Author lays down the following Propositions as the Ground Plot of this Pamphlet, and ventures to call them *MAXIMS*.

I. That the Poor of this Realm are generally in great want and distress : and that the middle ranks are becoming Poor.

II. That the Sufferings of the Poor are not the effects of a Divine Dispensation ; but the offspring of wicked men and bad systems.

III. That it is possible for Monopolization and Paper Money to make dearth and distress, even in the midst of wealth and abundance.

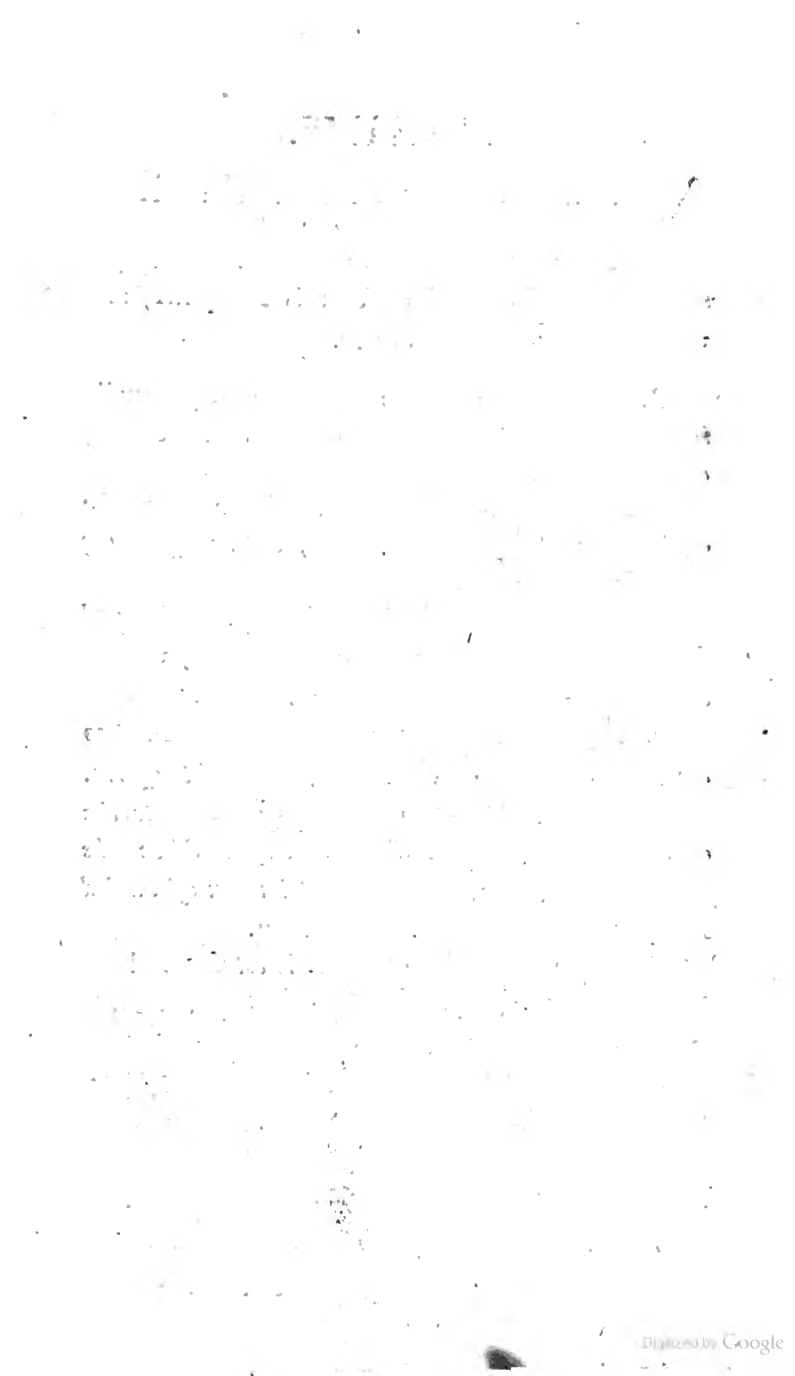
IV. That much Trade and Commerce are not so beneficial to a nation as many are disposed to affirm.

V. That nothing can effectually meliorate the condition of the Poor, and preserve the middle ranks from ruin ; but a more equal distribution of landed Property, and PEACE and REFORM.

VI. That the Slaves in the West Indies have but little reason to envy the happiness of the Poor of Great Britain.

VII. That Pheasants, Hares, Partridges, Snipes, Woodcocks and Moorhens, being protected by Laws and Game-keepers, are a PRIVILEGED ORDER compared with the Poor of this Realm.

VIII. That there is no moral or political evil in the world which men may not remedy if they choose.



Beggar's Complaint, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

It was under a keen sense of commiseration for the poor, that I first conceived the thought of writing on the wickedness of great *Corn Dealers, National Commerce, Monopolizers of Cotton, Land, &c. &c.*

The Press is continually teeming with books on every branch of science and literature: but of what avail is all this to the poor who are either wholly destitute, or but half supplied with the necessaries of life? Most of the arts and sciences are but ornaments and decorations; but food and raiment are essential to life. What is the discovery of a new star or planet to the poor: or a tour through Ireland and Scotland: Travels in Italy, Turkey and Palestine:

or a Voyage round the World, to those who have ragged garments and empty bellies ! In practical life we give our attention first to what is useful and necessary, and afterwards to what is ornamental and splendid. But the scientific men of the world wholly invert the order of reason ; at least in this respect ; for they act as much out of character to the present state of human society, as they would do, who should offer beads and ribbons to those who need shirts and shoes, and scents and cosmetics to such as wanted bread and cheese ! One reason, and perhaps the principal one, why the poor have so few patrons and advocates, is, they have nothing to give ; and therefore they cannot remunerate their friends and defenders ! Another reason, is, because that it is morally impossible to plead for the poor, on the score of oppression without accusing the rich ; and though the poor may be challenged and accused even *unjustly*, with impunity, yet the rich will not be told the *truth* respecting their misconduct ; at all events, the man who shall dare to accuse them, though ever so justly, may prepare himself for their

virulent language, and their vengeful conduct.

When the first edition of this Pamphlet made its appearance, some wealthy ones took great umbrage at it, saying "it will enflame the minds of the poor." This however, was an error, for it never disturbed the minds of the *poor*, except that instead of *inflaming* it *enlightened* them! But it did *inflame* the minds of some *rich* men. Perhaps their consciences were not in a state of *preparation* for the reception of such blunt and unqualified truths as it contained! The word *inflammatory*, is a very convenient and useful term for all the *honest* purposes of a certain description of men. Let but any unwelcome truth come out, and then call it *inflammatory language*, and the author of it a vile jacobin, and the whole business is settled according to the right rules of *loyalty* and *aristocracy*! But though this word *inflammatory* be so prodigiously convenient for one description of men, it is very inconvenient for another; for it being a term of arbitrary construction, no man can possibly discern when he is within or

without its dangerous circle. An honest writer may imagine that the way to keep out of danger will be to keep within the bounds of *truth*. This notion may lead him into a fatal error; for there is nothing in the whole compass of nature so inflammatory as truth when it is thrown amongst falsehood, deception, corruption and knavery! The bible itself affords several instances in justification, of this remark: the true prophet *Micaiah* had courage and honesty enough to contradict about four hundred false prophets, and tell an unwelcome truth to a despotic king of Israel, [Ahab] which so *inflamed* the priests and their king, that the one party smote him in the face, even in a great assembly, and the other party sent him to prison to feed upon bread of affliction and water of affliction; 1 kings, ch. 22. N. B. The four hundred prophets were all *loyal* and *faithful* subjects, true to their king and country, but *Micaiah* was a *restless, dissatisfied, disaffected vile fellow*; an *enemy to his king and country*, and a *JACOBIN*! More

instances of the same kind might be adduced from the same source.

But rich men say, "you want to take people's property from them by violence." This is the language of malignity but not of truth; and those who use it ought to have the justice to point out the page where such expressions might be seen. The whole drift of the Pamphlet being, not to teach "violence," but to deprecate it. It is true that I do wish for a greater equality of property than that which obtains at the present, and in this wish I humbly believe that I have both reason and revelation, common sense and general sentiment on my side.

But the equality which I want is not a *statistical equality*; that is, an equality by weight and measure; but a general equality which brings the extremes which now subsist to a more moderate distance from the medium: for, if I might be allowed to model human society and arbitrate the bounds of property according to my utmost wishes, I would most certainly leave some latitude for the encouragement and honour of industry on the one hand, and the disgrace and

punishment of waste and indolence on the other. As to the means whereby such a state of things might be obtained, could I be the manager, they should be brought about by system, and not by the sword; by law, and not by violence! Nor let it be imagined that I esteem all rich men as so many criminals; I have no such views of them: because many of them are born to the wealth which they inherit; and as to those who have acquired their wealth by Trade and Commerce, they have both necessity and custom to plead, and if they have attained their property by honest means, are worthy of high commendations.

But the fault of rich men lies in this, that they esteem, or pretend to esteem, all the speculations of philosophers and philanthrophists on the subject of exorbitant wealth and the oppressions of the rich, as so many personal attacks founded on envy, and covetous designs upon their property. Instead, therefore, of meeting the subject candidly, by yielding to natural sentiment, rational argument, and evident facts, they too frequently oppose the sentiments of

nature by a haughty disdain, arguments, by persecution, or even prosecution ; and facts, by usages and precedent.

The sufferings of mankind will never be so great as to be universal ; in the worst possible state of human society, there will be thriving and prosperous individuals.— These prosperous individuals generally stop their ears against truth, shut their eyes against facts, and harden their hearts against the cries of numbers who are depressed by calamities and pinched by want. Hence we often see persons who are *doing well*, to be prodigiously *loyal*, as themselves suppose at least ; they are for no alteration or change in the present system of things ; they cannot see how things can possibly be better than they are : and this *selfish* humour they call *loyalty*, or in other words, a *being true to their King and Country* ! They either cannot or will not perceive, that for the most part this *loyalty* arises wholly from a fear that any national innovation, or any derangement of *things as they are*, would jostle them out of their lucky knack of getting money ! They therefore load with

rancorous language, and vile epithets, all those who from motives of humanity and benevolence, speak or write in favour of the amelioration of the condition of mankind

Nor let the benevolent philanthropist be either surprised or depressed by the conduct of such men ; for whoever in any age has dared to espouse the cause of the poor, and confront the oppressions of the rich, has exposed himself to execration, persecution, and even death itself.

But, whatever rebuffs and insolence the commiserating advocates of the poor may meet with from wealthy pride, they have the language of inspiration on their side, and it is left on record for their consolation : *Blessed is he that considereth the poor ; the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble. The Lord will preserve him and keep him alive ; and he shall be blessed upon the earth : and thou wilt not deliver him unto the will of his enemies. The Lord shall strengthen him upon the bed of languishing ; thou wilt make all his bed in his sickness.* Psalm xli.—1, 2, 3. I find

I find it nowhere written, *blessed is he that considereth the rich.* The reason may be, that having money enough, they can *bless themselves*: or should they decline doing it for themselves, and yet wish to be blessed, they can find plenty of those who both can and will do it for them. But what are the poor to do, seeing they cannot help themselves, and when their cause is aggravated in this—that *they are denied help because they need it*? If they were above the need of help, they would have many helpers: but because they are poor and needy, vain is the help of man, for no man regards the poor man, *because he is poor! The poor is hated even of his own neighbour: but the rich hath many friends.*—Prov. xiv.—20. After all,—Blessed is he that considereth the poor. The LORD hath said it!

There is one common place plea of rich men, which I think is deserving of notice, and which is, to speak in their own language, that “The poor of this country are better off than the poor of any other country in the world.” Those who use this

plea, are deceived by its *having been true*. It was once true to say "Sardinia had a king"; but it would be false to say so now: and to say that "the poor of this country are better off than the poor of any other country in the world," is now problematic or disputable. But allowing the assertion to be true, namely, that they are "better off" than the foreign poor, yet even this would afford no solid ground for consolation; for there are some excellencies which are *absolute*, and others which are only *comparative*: an absolute excellence is that which cannot be exceeded: a comparative excellence is that which is better than others of its kind, by contrast: thus for instance, a man that has *one* leg is in a much more excellent case than he who has *none*: but yet he that is in the more excellent case, would be much better if he had *two* legs!

Such is the ignorance and infatuation of some men who value themselves upon what they call "being friends to their country," that they would if they could, stifle every word and even every sigh against privations and oppression. Were it possible that a

system of tyranny could be set up that would cut off *three* fingers of each hand of every man in the realm, I really fear that the practice would be justified and applauded by some men, especially if it could be proved that in every other country the rulers cut off *four* fingers of each hand: then these *loyal* souls, these "friends to their country" would say, "see what *privileges* you enjoy, for which you can never be sufficiently thankful; in no other countries the men have only a thumb upon each hand; but as for you, your lot has fallen in the land of freedom, which is the *glory* and *envy* of all the world; and therefore every man among you is privileged to wear both a finger and a thumb upon each hand! O, happy, happy people! O blessed land of freedom!

Now suppose at this juncture, a philanthropist should have the courage to say, "why, there is no great reason to be so mighty thankful for permission to wear a finger and thumb; for the Creator having given us four fingers and a thumb to each hand, the enjoyment and use of them is a

natural right: and therefore gratitude to man for this natural right, is a folly, not a duty. And moreover, the practice of thanking rulers for natural rights, has been one the many means, whereby the ruin of the liberties of mankind, in most countries, has been effected!"

But how shall we recompense the philanthropist for these salutary remarks? Well, thou *Friend to things as they are*, call him as usual, "a restless, disaffected fellow; a fellow that makes people uneasy; an enemy to his country—a jacobin!" This will be a much readier way than writing and printing to confute him!





ON THE

Distresses of the Poor,

&c.



THE cause of the Poor, is a *poor* cause; not in regard to the morality of it, but with respect to the countenance and support it will meet with from the wealthy part of mankind. A distressed *Nobleman*, or even a *Nobleman's* descendant, would soon be a subject of general conversation and commiseration: and it is more than probable the result would be, the opening of many hands, hearts and purses: whilst the starving poor, who are many in number and deep in misery, are little known and less regarded; living without comfort and dying without pity.

But whatever allowances may be made for *Breeding* and *Feeling*, the real wants of mankind are universally the same:—*One mouth to feed, and one back to cover!* And although the real wants of mankind are but few, yet those few are imperious ones: the belly requires to be fed several times a day, and the back to be clothed

all the day long. In these cases privations are painful; and if continued they are certain destruction. That there should be *any* of these cases is a matter of lamentation; but that there should be *myriads* of them, (as indeed there are) either is or ought to be a subject of sincere and pudent regret.

If these sufferings were the dispensations of heaven, it would be both our duty and our interest to bear them with christian resignation: but for the most part they are the productions of *bad* men and *worse* systems.

The sufferings of the lower classes of the people are at this time indescribable. Most even of those who have full employment, cannot, on account of the *high* price of provisions and the *low* rate of wages, get more than *half* necessaries for themselves and their families! What then must become of those who cannot get more than *half* employment? And farther, what must become of those who can get no employment at all? Of these two last descriptions, sorry I am to say, but it is a notorious truth, there are many.

In this deceitful world, where the order of things is so commonly inverted, it is in the nature of shameless pride and pomp to exhibit themselves with glaring effrontery, and all men see them: on the other hand it is in the nature of poverty, wretchedness and want, to hide themselves from the sight and knowledge of men: and moreover it is natural to man to dislike wretchedness and misery. Nevertheless though it may be allowed to men to *dislike* wretchedness and misery, yet it can never be allowed on christian principles for any one to *despise* them. When these evils come upon men through their own vices and folly, they deserve much blame

as well as some pity : but the sufferings here pointed at are such as result from the Monopolizations of Land Owners, Corn Factors and others ; and also the wicked Wars which are always fomented by the *Nobility*, the *ambitious*, and the *self interested*.

It is an ill symptom of the state of mankind, when men become insensible and callous to the sufferings of their fellow creatures. In this case, the best apology that can be made, is, that the commonness of enormities lessens that surprize in men, which in reason it ought to augment. At this moment there are in this nation thousands of wretched cases and true *tales of woe*, which would melt the heart of a *Janissary*, yea, and almost soften the heart of a *Nobleman* !

During the last twenty years the mechanics' wages have been lowered ; in some cases much lowered, even one half, and frequently more than that ; whilst on the other hand, provisions, instead of being also reduced one half, have been upon an average, doubled ! Added to this, many mechanics, as hath already been stated, have been thrown wholly out of employment.

Many poor labouring men there are in Great Britain, who get not more than nine or ten shillings, or half a guinea per week. Admitting then that these poor creatures are always employed, and never sick, what sort of maintenance is even half a guinea likely to procure for a man, his wife and several small children, when flour is *Five and Sixpence* per stone of 14lb. and all other things proportionably dear ? Half a guinea a week will not be too much even for bread alone, where the family consists of five or six persons. What then in the name of common sense is to supply all other wants, even for

the belly; to say nothing of raiment, coals, rent and taxes!

But there are many who can get no employment of any description whatever; and it is truly lamentable to see what shifts and devices many of these poor unfortunates will find out, in order to avoid the degrading alternative of being browbeaten by a Parish Officer. Some there are who set out a gathering rags—others go a selling matches—and others again take to gathering horse dung upon the roads; but these callings are now like too many others of a more dignified description—they are overstocked with applicants, and consequently almost profitless.

These cases, it will be admitted are bad enough, but there are worse than these: for there are many who, heretofore, by diligence in their callings and economy in their disbursements, had subsisted in comfort and independence, are now reduced to the sad alternative of begging from door to door, or starving. Say ye, inhabitants of Manchester, is it not so? Nay, worse than this, have not many absolutely expired for want of a morsel of bread, during this year 1812, and a few years preceding?

The following tale of woe is founded in fact. In the month of July, 1812, a poor woman in the City of Norwich, went to the Market-place, and, minding her opportunity, as she thought, purloined a Sheep's Pluck from a Butcher's Stall. The Butcher perceived the transaction and immediately called a Constable, with whom he followed the poor woman to her own house. When the Butcher and the Constable entered the house, they found the Sheep's Pluck already laid raw as it was, upon the table, and the table surrounded by several children who were tearing it with their little fingers, and eating it.

with tyger like appetites ! The Constable and Butcher then told the woman on what errand they were come, namely, to arrest her. The poor creature then told them with tears and trembling, that her husband was a soldier ; that her poor famished children had not tasted food of any kind for several days ; that she had no money to buy them any ; and that she had been impelled by natural feeling and the cries of the children to do what she had done, though it was contrary both to her principles and habits of life. This tale of woe, so evidently true, caused the Butcher's heart to relent, and therefore instead of arresting the woman, he gave her some money, and then, with the Constable he went away !

Look at these things O thou proud monster *Aristocracy* ! These scenes of distress are thy legitimate offspring : and where thou art these tales of woe will rarely be wanting. This is also one of the direful fruits of your *Just and Necessary War* ! Alas poor *Beggars*. Great men blow up the flames of discord and war : they then *impress* some of you for the Navy ; and *ballot* others of you for the army ; and both against your will. Those of you who are left at home by their gracious permission, have to labour for the support of both Navy and Army ; yea, and for an unfeeling set of men calling themselves *Noblemen*, to whom you have the honour to give to each annually, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty or ninety thousand pounds ! When you have done this, you have only a few, a swarm I mean, of Placemen, Pensioners, Agents and Contractors to maintain : and then, O *happy* thought, all the rest of your earnings are for the support of yourselves and family !

This may in some measure account for the great increase of lean carcasses, thin and sallow faces, ragged cloths and bare legs and feet. These *signs of the times* have been much on the increase during the last twenty years, but especially during the last seven years: and if we can but make it out to get a few more victories, the poor of England may become what the poor of France were previous to the revolution, namely, *Sans Cullottes*!

In former times the Poor could gather a few Nuts in season, without fear or dread of molestation: but now - a days we frequently see *warning papers* put up in the streets, threatening Nutters with prosecution, should they dare to gather Nuts on certain proscribed grounds.— Poor Beggars! The great ones of the Nation have claimed, according to *law* not *reason*, all the Hares, Partridges, Woodcocks, Moor Game, &c. &c. to say nothing of fish; and at length they are beginning to turn their attention to the common hasel Nut! Generous Souls! you have nothing now to look after but haws, crabs and sloes, and then you will have got all!

It has also been legally determined, not long ago, that no one has any right to glean in any field without the owner's permission! Poor Beggars! you have got the strait Jacket on at the last: there will soon be nothing you can call your own but *air* and *water*!

MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL.

It will be very natural, from the tenure of Scripture, the nature of Religion and the Reason of things, for the poor in their sufferings under the hand of oppression, to look for patrons and comforters among the *Ministers* of the Gospel.—Sin out of the question, that which is natural is always right. The poor therefore, judging by the conduct of the Prophets and Apostles, imagine that all the teachers of christianity ought to advocate their cause against the tyranny and injustice of wicked and unreasonable men: In this the poor are right in their judgment of *things*, but, as is often the case, they are wrong in their apprehensions of *men*: they know what *should be*, but they are frequently disappointed and mortified at what *really is*.

Out of about eighteen thousand Clergymen in Great Britain, only one has, to my knowledge, been prosecuted since the commencement of the French Revolution, for opposing the corruptions of the times. The one I allude to, published a small well written Pamphlet on the *Unlawfulness of War*. This Author was prosecuted by the Government; and the pleadings of the Crown Lawyers came to this issue, “that the Pamphlet was evidently written with a good design, and was in substance true, but that according to the present posture of affairs, in the world, it would not do, and therefore could not be allowed publication!!!” However the Clergyman came to no farther trouble about this Pamphlet; because he yielded, like a coward, to its suppression, and then the Government let him alone!

Besides the abovementioned Clergyman, there was among the Dissenters, a *Mr. Winterbottom* prosecuted and imprisoned for four years; also a *Mr. Friend* prosecuted, and if I remember right, imprisoned: and, latterly, *Mr. Gilbert Wakefield*, who was imprisoned two years. These latter wrote, or preached, against the corrupt and oppressive practices of Statesmen.

But when we recollect that there are of Clergymen and Dissenting Ministers of every description, perhaps not much less, if any, than thirty thousand, one may justly wonder that so very small a number of them should be found who have advocated the cause of oppressed humanity, seeing it is peculiarly their duty! But, indeed it has, shame to men, always been so: for in the days of wicked *Ahab* King of Israel, there were *four hundred* false Prophets, and only *one* true one! *I. Kings*, chap. 22. On the side of the oppressors there is wealth and power: indeed as things are now constituted, wealth is power: and on the other hand, on the side of the oppressed there is poverty; and as things are now appreciated, poverty is weakness: nay more, it is ignorance; it is meanness; it is vileness; and it is every thing that is disgraceful and hateful! Alas! poor men: rich men by their wicked and oppressive systems make you into Beggars, and then they despise and hate you for being Beggars!

Let it not, however, be imagined that Ministers of the Gospel have nothing to say for themselves in reference to these things: O no: they have a gloss for their conduct, and can dexterously quote Scripture in justification of the course they pursue. For instance they say, we are commanded in Scripture, to *render honour to whom*

whom honour is due. From this they would have us infer that honour is always due to men in authority in particular, and to noblemen in general : and that therefore it is impossible both to *oppose* them and *honour* them at the same time. *Render honour to whom honour is due.* The command is a good one, even if it were not found in the Bible, but still more so for being recorded there. But then the question now is—To whom is honour due: Is it due to vice and villainy—to those who impoverish and oppress mankind—to those who will give no right and hear no reason? To say that villains in office ought to be treated with respect and reverence, is to villify virtue and to libel the God of truth and righteousness. To tell lies is justly reputed scandalous ; this is *verbal* falsehood : but to pay virtuous respects to vicious men ; to treat with honour those who deserve infamy ; to call a downright scoundrel a Right Honourable Gentleman, is *practical* falsehood, and such an inversion of the order and fitness of things as must ultimately subvert both *Justice* and *Peace*, the two grand pillars on which the moral and the civil world entirely depend : and must moreover, call down the vengeance of a righteous God, who loveth righteousness. It is my serious opinion that the practice of giving good names and distinguishing honours to bad men, has produced infinite mischief to mankind : for when villains have found that they could obtain all the epithets and exterior respects due only to virtue, they have been emboldened to think that virtue was of no value ; but that *interest* is every man's best *end*, and that he is only a tardy mean spirited fool, who scruples about the *means* !

Say, ye dastardly Ministers of the Gospel who cover your own cowardice by your false glosses of God's Word; did *Mordecai* the captive Jew at Shushan in Persia, act conformably to your glosses when he refused to reverence *Haman* the Prime Minister of the Persian Empire? Is it not reasonable to suppose that *Mordecai* had his reasons for his conduct, and that his reasons were—that *Haman* was at the bottom, notwithstanding his situation, a downright scoundrel, and that therefore to honour such a man was to disgrace himself and dishonour the Almighty! But what would many modern Ministers of the Gospel, Church Clergy or Dissenters, not much matter whether, have done, had they been in *Mordecai*'s situation? Why, reader they would have done what they are almost daily doing now to the *Haman*'s in power—They would have been sneaking at the heels of the Persian *Haman*, courting his smiles, supplicating his favours, and treating him with all the homage due only to a virtuous man! *Haman* would hardly have been hanged had they been there!

Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, saith the cowardly minister of the Gospel. Here we see that these christian ministers quote scripture in their justification. Let us try then if they may not be puzzled from the same quarter: and we will begin with Exodus, Chap. I. ver. 15—*And the King of Egypt spake to the Hebrew Midwives, of which the name of the one was Shiphrah, and the name of the other Puah. And he said, When ye do the office of a Midwife to the Hebrews, and see them upon the stools; if it be a son then ye shall kill him: but if it be a daughter, then she shall live.*

But the Midwives feared God, and did not as

the King of Egypt commanded them, but saved the Men-children alive.

And the King of Egypt called for the Midwives, and said unto them, why have ye done this thing, and saved the men-children alive?

And the midwives said unto Pharaoh, because the Hebrew women are not as the Egyptian women, for they are lively, and are delivered, ere the midwives come in unto them.

Then God dealt well with the midwives : and the people multiplied, and waxed very mighty.

And it came to pass, because the midwives feared God, that he made them houses.

Here then, reader, we have it in plain language nay, in Bible language, that the Hebrew Midwives disobeyed the commandment of King Pharaoh, and that the divine being was highly pleased with them for their conduct, and shewed his pleasure by *dealing well* with them and *making them houses*.

Now let us suppose that all the Ministers of the Gospel in Great Britain, Clergy and Dissenters, had been there, and the Egyptian Midwives had applied to them for counsel respecting Pharaoh's mandate, what can we suppose these ministers would have advised them to do. Why, reader, judging from the almost uniform conduct of these *courageous* Ministers, they would have said to the Midwives.—“Indeed good women there can be no question what is your duty in this case, for it would be damnable wickedness for men to disobey a King or a Government, and such conduct would be still more intolerable in old wives ; besides know you not what the Scripture says, *Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God.* Whosoever therefore resisteth the power

resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. Rom. c. 13. v. 1, 2.

This beyond all doubt would have been their language for it is with this and such language that they have almost all of them glossed over the most dastardly and the most unchristianlike conduct. With this misapplied Scripture in their mouths they have stood by, holding the garments of oppressors and consenting to the oppression of the poor of the land. They have passively watched the legalization of Pressgangs and Military flogging; and the Bishops have *actually* supported these things; and they have witnessed War with all its infernal horrors, and have consecrated its banners; they have seen the poor ballotted or seduced into the army and sent by tens of thousands to the field of battle like beasts to the slaughter house: they have beheld the poor with their sallow countenances, their skeleton carcasses, their tattered garments, and their bare legged children, they have seen the building of Barracks, of new *large and commodious* Prisons, and Poor Houses; they have beheld the cruel conduct of Rackrent Landlords, and avaricious Monopolizers: in short they have seen the Devil almost do his worst to the lower orders of mankind, and all the while they have stood by like dumb dogs that cannot bark, or like marble statues that cannot feel.

Ministers of the Gospel are the men of whom God expects and requires that they should be his ambassadors and vicegerents in the moral world; and therefore he requires it of them that they should stand up in his stead, and confront and oppose the oppressors of the poor, in language like the following. *What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor? Saith the Lord God of hosts* Isa. c. 3. v. 15.

But instead of vindicating the cause of the oppressed and the poor, these men, these *messengers of the gospel, and the glory of Christ!* are amongst the very foremost of those who *cry down* the cries of the poor, and *cry up* the conduct of those by whom the poor are reduced to starvation and ruin! Even among dissenting Ministers may be found those who have made their court and done obeisance to oppressors in power! And all this unmanly and antichristian conduct is graced off by language as foreign to their appropriations of it, as the language of Scripture is to the slang of a gypsy, *The powers that be are of God—He that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.*

Now ye dastardly fellows, supposing you had been like Daniel, required on pain of Death to desist from praying to the God of heaven for a certain period? Why, Sirs, to be sure you would have desisted, and put a very good face upon your conduct too: for you would have said—*The powers that be are of God:* and therefore I am bound in duty and in conscience to obey!

Further, let us suppose Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon should come and reign over England; and that this great man should take it into his head to set up a *Golden Image* on Hounslow heath, or Nottingham Forest; and that he should build a good flaming furnace not far from the Image! Let us then suppose that this mighty monarch should Command all men both great and small to fall down at the sound of the Cornet, Flute, Harp, Sackbut, and Psaltery, and worship the Golden Image, which he had set up! What would the Clergy and Dissenting Ministers do then? I humbly hope there would be found a few out of about thirty thousand who would die rather than worship: but it is more

than probable that the great bulk of them would not only fall down themselves, but would induce others to do the same; and they would adduce Scripture to justify their conduct: they would say—*The powers that be are of God—and—we must submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the King as supreme; or unto Governors.* 1 Pet. c. 2—v. 13. 14. Yes, reader, the Ministers of the Gospel in the present day, are not *furnace men*: they are *feather bed men*! They are not for *resisting unto blood*: but rather for *becoming all things unto all men*.

The new Testament also, affords more than one instance of disobedience to the *powers that be*. In the Acts of the Apostles, Chaps. 3 & 4. We find that *Peter and John*, having been instruments in the hands of God, of healing a lame and impotent man, gave great offence thereby to the *powers that be*. Wherefore the Captain of the Temple, the High Priests, Rulers, Elders, and others, assembled: and having called Peter and John to their Bar, asked them, “By what power, or by what name they had done a great and beneficial miracle.” or in other words whether they had got a *Licence* under the toleration act, to do good to their fellow creatures without bringing themselves into trouble thereby! The ultimate of this arraignment was that they *commanded Peter and John, not to speak at all nor teach in the name of Jesus*. But Peter and John answered and said unto them, *whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than God, Judge ye. For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard*. Here then was downright disobedience to the *powers that be*; by two chief Apostles, and, what heightens the singularity of the circumstance, these Apostles, were at the same time *filled with the Holy Ghost*.

Not long after this the *powers that be*, again laid hold of Peter and other Apostles, for the same *crime* as abovementioned, and again imprisoned them. But strange to tell, an Angel of the Lord by night, opened the prison doors, and brought them forth, and said, *Go stand und speak in the Temple to the people all the words of this life.* Here we find an *Angel from the Lord* both helping and teaching *disobedience to the powers that be.* This Angel must have been a Jacobin, without doubt! However, in defiance of God or Angels, the *powers that be* were determined to enforce non-resistance and passive obedience to their malignant and damnable commands, and therefore they said, *Did not we straitly command you that ye should not teach in his name, &c.* Then Peter and the other Apostles answered and said, *We ought to obey God rather than men! Acts, Chap. 5.*

Now, it is well worthy of our consideration that this same Peter who boldly said in the face of the Rulers, *we ought to obey God rather than men*, said on another occasion, *Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the King as supreme, or unto Governors &c.* 1 Peter, 2,—13, 14. What shall we say then, is Peter at variance with himself? By no means; Peter had learned what many learned men seem very unwilling to know, namely, that when the behests of Governments are according to truth and righteousness, they ought in any wise to be obeyed; but when they are otherwise, then disobedience is a duty, yea even a meritorious duty; and this I think I have clearly demonstrated from Scripture facts.

We will now bring forward another holy Apostle, and we will see what deference he had for *Great Men.* James, Chap. 2. *Hearken my be-*

loved brethren, hath not God chosen the poor of this World rich in faith, and heirs of the Kingdom which he hath promised to them that love him. Addressing the rich, he says, *But ye have despised the poor.* Singular language ! it might have been written in the eighteenth or nineteenth century ! Again addressing the poor, he says, *Do not rich men oppress you, and draw you before the judgment seats ? Do not they blaspheme that worthy name by the which ye are called ?* Chap. 5. The same Apostle, evidently being moved with indignation at the oppressive conduct of the rich towards the poor, says, *Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth eaten. Your Gold and Silver is cankered ; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days. Behold the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth : and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton ; ye have nourished your hearts as in a day of Slaughter. Ye have condemned and killed the just ; and he doth not resist you.*

Were St. James in the World now, and to speak or write in the same strain with the above quotation, there would be many to rebuke him, and say to him, "What have ye to do with Great men, and Rich men ? their conduct comes not under your cognizance : Ministers of the Gospel have nothing to do with politics, Government and Great men ; their province is to let these things alone, and mind only the preaching of the Gospel, &c. &c." It is by this kind of cant that many ministers cover their cowardice and love of ease : and it is by acting upon such like max-

ins that the world has suffered so much from wicked Governments, and is now so wretched by reason of tyranny, murder, and poverty!

It is worthy of observation, however, that those *courageous* Ministers who deal so gingerly with Governments and Great men, are very lavish in their anathemas against poor Girls for their indulging too much in fine Caps and yellow ribbons: may they will even venture, on extraordinary occasions to vent out some keen philippics against the Devil himself! But wherefore all this *honesty* and *magnanimity*? Why reader, as to the poor Girls with their caps and ribbons, they can do nothing but new model the cap, and get the yellow ribbon dyed green: and with regard to the Devil he cannot help himself, because he does not keep an *Attorney General*; for if the Devil kept an Attorney General to file *Ex officio* Bills against all Ministers of the Gospel who durst libel his character, I greatly suspect that many would deal as warily with his Satanic Majesty as they do with some other Majesties! In short under such circumstances, none but downright honest men would get themselves into trouble by meddling with the devil, and the number of such men in proportion to the bulk of mankind, has always been most lamentably small!

Neither did *St. Paul* pay a much better compliment to Great men than *St. James*, when he said to the Church of Corinth, *For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called. &c* 1 Cor. 1, 26.

Finally, we will just notice the spirit and language of the Son of God, respecting the Great ones of the earth: and this is the more necessary because a few of his words have been hack-

neyed about from age to age, as being his whole creed respecting Kings and Governments. The words in question are these, *Render therefore unto Cesar, the things which are Cesar's*, Mat. 22 chap. 21. These words which speak but very faintly in favour of Kings and taxation, and which were only uttered in order to evade a snare, have been blown from the lips of a loyal and fawning priesthood, with unabated zeal and unremitting diligence : and yet after all, I doubt not but Jesus Christ, had he been speaking of Judas Iscariot, would have said, *Render unto Judas Iscariot the things that are Judas Iscariot's* : Or, render to any man you may be connected with, his due, whether of debt, duty, or reverence.

The citation of a few passages from holy writ, will more than intimate the views of Jesus Christ respecting the *Rulers and Great men* of this world. Mat. 23, Chap. ver. 1, 2, 3, 4. *Then spake Jesus to the multitude, and to his disciples, saying the Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat, All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do ; That is, so far as those who sit in Moses' seat, teach according to Moses' writings, so far obey them : but do not ye after their works : for they say and do not. For they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders : but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers ! What an ancient picture of modern practice ! Again Luke, 6, ver. 24. Woe unto you that are rich ! for ye have received your consolation. Woe unto you that are full ! for ye shall hunger. Woe unto you that laugh now ! for ye shall mourn and weep.*

Jesus Christ never flattered Great men ; nor ever applied *fine* titles to *foul* characters : he would have suffered the most cruel death that men could inflict, sooner than have styled an abandoned

profligate a *Right Honourable Gentleman*—a turbulent blood thirsty ruffian, *His Serene Highness*; or a cruel tyrant of a King, a *Most gracious Sovereign*. Jesus knew, what it very much behoves all those to know who have any inclination to acquit themselves in the sight of that God that loveth righteousness, and hateth iniquity, namely, that the giving good names to bad men, and bad names to good men, has been one of the principal schemes of him who is the Father of lies, by which the world has been corrupted, and consequently the happiness of mankind almost wholly subverted. Men are well aware that it is quite wrong to apply foul names to good men: and they ought to know that it is equally wrong, and perhaps more pernicious in its consequences, to apply dignified titles to bad men. This practise confounds the reason of men, and especially of young persons; for when they find such a dissonance betwixt names and things, they are in imminent danger of imbibing perverted principles, and yielding to abandoned practises. When certain of the Pharisees said to the Saviour, *Get thee out, and depart hence: for Herod will kill thee*, the Saviour replied, *Go ye, and tell that Fox, behold I cast out devils, &c. Luke, 13 Chap. — 31, 32.* Here we see that Jesus knowing Herod to be an infamous fellow, called him a *Fox*, though he was a *King*. Had Herod been as good in degree, as he was bad, there is no question but the Redeemer would have chosen some favourable opportunity to make honorable mention of his name. This was the same Herod whom John the Baptist reprov'd for living in adultery with his Brother Philip's wife: for which honesty, John lost his head! Ah! luckless Herod, to be reprov'd and despised by the Messiah and his Harbinger, for *only* living in Adultery and being a cruel

Tyrant! But had your lot been cast in these *pious* and *enlightened* days, you might have lived in all manner of debauchery and profligacy without ever once having your royal feelings wounded by either a *John* or a *Jesus*. You would have found plenty of Ministers who would have witnessed your crimes, but never have told you of them: who, in spite of your vices, would have cringed at your feet and gladly fed upon your smiles: who would have styled you *Gracious Sovereign*, and *Sacred Majesty*; and would have sworn also that you could not if you would, do any thing wrong. There is nothing in the whole compass of science and practise which Aristocracy revolts so determinately as at the mention and thoughts of equal Laws—equal Rights—and a *more equal distribution of landed property*. It is to oppose these Gospel principles that fire and sword have ravaged *Europe, Asia, Africa, and America*, during the last twenty years. It is true indeed that the Aristocracy has held out different pleas for their conduct, from what is here stated; but pleas are not always truths; for there have always been a discerning few, who have known very well where the sore place lay, in spite of all those high sounding phrases—Good Order—Subordination—regular Governments—the Preservation of our happy Constitution, which is the glory and envy of the World—The transmitting of our glorious Constitution down to posterity unimpaired, &c. &c. Now let us see, and hear what was the opinion of the Son of God respecting exorbitant wealth, *Then said Jesus unto his disciples, Verily I say unto you, that a rich man shall hardly enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. And again I say unto you, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God. Matt. 19 Chap.—23, 24. Here*

is

is no flattery of Rich men : on the contrary there is more than a broad hint that it is next to impossible to be very rich, without being very wicked also ; and by plain inference an absolute condemnation of monopolization and excessive wealth. Correspondent with this, God says by the mouth of his Prophet, *Woe unto them that join House to House, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth.* &c. Isa. 5—8.

In one word, there scarcely ever was a public teacher in the world, who spoke more degradingly of the *Powers that be* and *Great men* in general, than Jesus Christ did ; for, speaking of men in authority, he said to his Disciples prophetically, *They shall lay hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the Synagogues, and into prisons, being brought before KINGS and RULERS for my name's sake.* Luke, 21—22.

Notwithstanding all these things, Jesus Christ was a lover of men : yea of all men : but he knew very well that extreme wealth begot extreme pride, and that these, like two parents, begot oppression, ignorance depravity, and misery. However, that the reader may not imagine me to be the only person in the world harbouring these sentiments respecting Christ and his Apostles, I will give you a quotation from Dr. KNOX's *Christian Philosophy*, Vol. 2. p. 559, &c. "*It is certain, says Dr. Knox*" that the Gospel is the book of all that were ever written, that favours most the *Rights of Man*, and the cause of *Equal Liberty*. Jesus Christ abolished slavery in Europe. Jesus Christ has humbled the Rich and Mighty. Jesus Christ has given a consequence to the *Poor*, which they never possessed amid the boasted freedom of Greece and Rome. Jesus Christ has done more to destroy the insolent

distinctions which arose from the spirit of tyranny, than was ever done before or after him; and Jesus Christ suffered death for this benefaction to all mankind, as a seditious innovator, and an enemy to Cæsar. Jesus Christ is therefore entitled to the gratitude and veneration of every friend to truth, Justice and humanity, even if he were no more than a man, and his religion untrue. What have Sydney, Hampden, and Locke, done or said, with such effect, in the cause of liberty, and in favour of the mass of mankind, as Jesus Christ? Let then all the friends of liberty and man, be lovers of Jesus Christ: and let not their zeal for reforming the corruptions of Christianity, caused by Statesmen, wishing to render it subservient to political views, lead them to renounce the comfortable, liberal, equalizing doctrines of the genuine Gospel.

The Gospel recommends PEACE, and infallibly produces by the Spirit's benign influence, such dispositions of mind as must of necessity, if they were to prevail among the Rulers of the world, put an end to all offensive war. It has not yet done so, for it has not yet sufficiently prevailed among the Rulers of the World."

The same author has also, upon the same occasion, the following note: "The New Testament abounds with Passages, expressive of indignation against those among Rich men, who abuse wealth and power, for the purposes of oppression, cruelty, and despotism."

Another short quotation from a celebrated Author may not be unacceptable. *Bishop Newton* in his *Dissertations*, and at the conclusion of that on *Babylon*, says, "In the General, the scriptures, though often perverted to the purposes of tyranny, are yet in their own nature

calculated to promote the *civil* as well as the *religious* liberties of mankind. True religion and virtue, and liberty, are more nearly related, and more intimately connected with each other, than people commonly consider. It is very true as St. Paul saith, 2. Cor. 3, 17. that *where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty* : or as our Saviour himself expresseth it, John 8—31, 32, *If ye continue in my word, then are ye my Disciples indeed ; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.*”

THE POWERS THAT BE ARE OF GOD.

To take these words in their literal form and apply them indiscriminately to every existing Government, and at every period of time, will involve the votaries of the *Powers that be* in great absurdity and insurmountable difficulties : For instance,

What must the Ministers of the Gospel say who lived in the reign of *Charles the First*, the author of a seven or eight years rebellion in England, and the instigator of a bloody massacre in Ireland, in which massacre, *Sir John Temple*, says, were slain, three hundred thousand Protestants ? O certainly, *The powers that be are of God !* Well but somebody took this *Divinely* appointed power and cut his head off, and set up *Oliver Cromwell*, whom some were pleased to call an Usurper. What must the Ministers of the Gospel say then ? *The Powers that be are of God !*

After *Cromwell's* decease, his son *Richard* became Protector in his stead. This *Richard* was a peaceable and pious man. What would Divines say now ? *The powers that be are of God.* Now it should seem, they had truth on their side, but the Military and other intriguers soon jostled *Richard* out, and set up in his stead,

Charles the Second, who, if Historians may be credited, was one of the worst men in existence; he, forgetting his friends; murdering those whom he had pardoned; and being an exemplar of every species of licentiousness. What did the *weak* and the *selfish* say now? *The powers that be are of God.*

James the Second succeeded his brother Charles. James made but little secret of his designs to introduce both *Popery* and *Tyranny*: cruelty soon began to mark his steps, and a Despot he would be. Well what said the Orthodox Scripturians then? *The powers that be are of God.* But this *Man of God* was speedily driven from his power, his throne, and his kingdom: and to him succeeded,

William Prince of Orange, called King William the third, of glorious memory! It is said of this man that he understood nothing but war and politics. However, the best thing about him was, that he tolerated religion. He proved however, no great blessing to England; for it is said that he was the first British Sovereign that introduced the mischievous practice of *bribing members of Parliament*; the first who began the ruinous system of *borrowing* and *funding*: and that he loved a *Standing Army*! He had naturally a bad Constitution of body, and he had practically made it much worse. The famous Dr. Radcliffe coming as Physician to examine William's two rotten legs, and being asked by the latter what he thought of them, replied, "Why, please your Majesty, I would not have your *two* legs for your *three* kingdoms." For this blunt expression, it is said that the *Most gracious William* never forgave Radcliffe. Well, but what did the Ministers of the Gospel and many others of that day, say of this *Funding, Bribing, Standing Army King*? *The powers that be are of God!*

I might indeed, have brought forward first upon my list the famous Queen Mary. This most *Gracious Woman*, who is emphatically and justly called the *Bloody Queen Mary*, hurled her best subjects into fire, destruction, or ruin; and was a terror to all except evil doers: and yet no doubt there were those even in her day, who cried out *The powers that be are of God.*

And what have you to say, ye Advocates for the *powers that be*, respecting the *Powers that be* at *Algiers* and *Morocco*, where Captives are made slaves, and where slaves have been Empaled for asserting their liberty by running away? And what will you say of the *liberal* and *humane* government of *Constantinople*, which allows a *Christian* to wear his head from year to year, only on condition that he punctually pays a tax imposed upon it. Will you still say, *that the powers that be are of God?* And if these last mentioned Powers be of God, pray what is there left for the Devil to do?

Now what will the pertinacious advocate for the *Powers that be*, say to all these examples and arguments: will he say that I have been endeavouring to falsify the Bible? Should he do so, he will very much misrepresent my meaning, which is to shew myself an advocate for that sacred Book, in opposition to those who pervert and abuse its meaning. For of all the Books that ever were written, considering it merely as a human production, none ever shew so full in the face of oppression, and pleaded for justice, mercy, and truth, so boldly and repeatedly, as the Bible. In short the Bible is the Book of all the Books in the World, considering its inspiration and its doctrines, worthy of being entitled—*RIGHTS of MAN!*

In reference to governments, had we not better estimate their moral merit as we are instructed by the scriptures to believe that God appreciates every

individual man. *St John* in his epistles, says, on the one hand, *He that doeth righteousness, is righteous* : on the other hand, he says, *He that committeth sin is of the devil*. Now, for my own part, I see no reason why the rule of judgment, which is here applied to individuals, and the decision thereon, should not be applied to great men and governments. I am certain that God ever has, and dare affirm that he ever will, apply the same moral rule of judgment to nations which he does to men in their single capacity. If this be true, how then can we in good conscience, take a Scripture phrase, and apply it to all sorts of governments indiscriminately, and without any regard to their moral merit, say—*The powers that be are ordained of God*. Had we not better say with *Mr. Robinson* of Cambridge, in one of his Village Sermons on the very words in question, *all good government is of God* ! This, says *Mr. R.* if I remember rightly, is really what the Apostle *Paul* intended his reader to understand : and by plain inference,—*all bad governments are of the Devil* !

Having given the reader the above statement of my views respecting the moral merit of governments, I think I ought not to conclude the subject without giving also my opinion respecting the allegiance due to them.

According to my views then, there are three states in which a government may be, and in one of which states I believe all governments actually are ;

1. A government may be a *very good one*.
2. A Government may be a *defective one* ; that is partly good and partly bad.
3. A Government may be a *very bad one*, and corrupt, and oppressive, beyond all remedy, and even the possibility of amendment.

First, then, when a Government is a *very good* one, I believe it to be every one's duty to submit cheerfully to it, to support it, and to pray to Almighty God for its well being and continuance.

Secondly, when a Government is a defective one, I believe it to be every one's duty to contribute all in their power to remedy the defects by peaceable means, and if possible, restore the body politic to health and soundness, without disturbance, revolution, and mischief.

Thirdly ; A Government may be a *very bad* one, and corrupt and oppressive beyond all remedy, and even the possibility of amendment. It may be said of such a Government, as the Prophet Isaiah said of the Government of Judah, *Ah sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil doers, children that are corrupters : they have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the holy one of Israel to anger, they are gone away backward. Why should ye be stricken any more ? Ye will revolt more and more : the whole head is sick and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it ; but wounds, bruises, and putrifying sores.* Isa. 1—4, 5, 6. In this case it is my serious opinion that every one ought to use all their power and influence to pull down such a government ; and that the contrary conduct is provoking and sinful in the sight of the divine Being ; because it is in the body politic as it is in the natural body ; the natural body, everyone knows, may be so emaciated and corrupt as to admit of no remedy but death ; and in like manner, the body politic may be so far gone in corruption and oppression, as to admit of no remedy but revolution.

Those who will be at the trouble to consult ancient History, especially the Bible, may discover that there have been governments which the Almighty

ly determined to pull down, and with whom he would make no compromise. I think Babylon, Nineveh and Tyre were among the number: and it is notorious that there was a time when the Divine Being had determined to make the King of Judah succumb to Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon. But because Zedekiah king of Judah refused to obey the commandment of God by the mouth of his prophet Jeremiah, when he commanded him to surrender himself and his capital, Jerusalem, to the King of Babylon, he was taken, his sons slain before his eyes: afterwards his eyes were put out; his city Jerusalem, laid waste, and burnt; finally, himself and almost all his subjects carried away captive to Babylon *vide* Jer. Chap. 34, ver. 2. 3. & Sequel.

Now from this and other memorable events of a similar nature, I infer, that governments may possibly become so bad that they cannot be mended; and that therefore it is both weak and wicked to attempt the doing of what ought not, and what God has decreed shall not be done.

A bad government is no other than a system of organized oppression; plunder and murder; a system the business of which is, by bribery, espionage, prosecutions, taxation and war, to induce poverty, destroy liberty, propagate immorality, and fill the earth with bloodshed and devastation! When therefore a government is incurably bad, cursed are the hands that hold up, and blessed are the hands that pull down!

ON THE HIGH PRICE OF CORN, CORN-FACTORS, FARMERS, RACK RENT LANDLORDS, NEWS-PRINTERS, PAPER-MONEY MAKERS, CONTRACTORS, &c. &c.

There is scarcely any subsisting evil so universal in its extent and so deplorable in its consequences, as the exorbitantly high price of corn, which at the present obtains. For this high price of corn, there never has been, in my serious opinion, a just cause assigned. Pretexts there have been plenty; such as—Rainy days—Wet seasons,—Smut, want of water to grind with, Back water,—Expeditions fitting out—Supplies for foreign armies &c. &c. But the real cause has always been kept out of sight. Unpropitious accidents may sometimes fall out, it cannot be denied, such as failure in crops, excessive wet weather, &c. but the most ordinary cause of dear corn in Great Britain, is—*Damnable Avarice*.

There has sprung up within this last twenty years, a spirit of avarice, which, for the degree of it, is unprecedented in all former ages. This spirit of avarice has taken a direction towards *Wool*, *Cotton*, and other rare materials of manufacture; but its most fatal bent has been towards *Corn*, that universal requisite of human subsistence. This avaricious propensity has had the incidental concurrence of *War*, with all its accidents of *Commerce*, with all its fluctuations; and of *Paper Money* with all its deceptions. And to these may be added, *Pitt's Corn Bill*, which that *Great Man* left as a legacy to the poor! also *Rack-rents*; great *Farmers*;

instead of small one's; and the periodical reports of the *Agricultural Society*. From this heterogeneous mass of baneful materials has been compounded such a system of civil plunder by extortion, and secret murder by starvation, as bids defiance to the dictates of reason, the claims of justice, the sympathizings of humanity, the widow's tears, and the orphan's cries!

Nor does it appear that one in a hundred of those men whom custom, not reason, has taught us to call the *higher orders*, care a straw about the unutterable sufferings of the poor, for if the poor being hunger bitten should become in anywise unruly, or only indicate symptoms of being so, the question is scarcely ever asked, how shall we remove the cause of the poor Man's complaints. —“ But the questions commonly are” — Are there plenty of Troops within call? — Have we plenty of Constables ready for calling out? — “ Had we not better make an additional Posse of special Constables, &c. &c.” Now does it never strike the minds of these *higher orders*, that *Balls and Bayonets* are but bad substitutes for *Bread and Cheese*; and that a Constable's Truncheon bears no analogy to a hungry belly? And whilst I am digressing from my leading topic, dear Corn, I beg leave to state from information, that in 1810 or 1811, the weavers and spinners of Cheshire and Lancashire, delegated one or two men to London, with a memorial expressive of their great sufferings in consequence of the stoppage of Commerce. This memorial was presented to Mr. Ryder, who, I think was Secretary of State, Mr. R. sent for answer, to the weavers and spinners, by their delegates, that—“ *They must have patience.*” If weavers and spinners could live, like Cameleons, on air; or like herrings

on water, this answer of Mr. Ryder, might have been dispensed with: but as the weavers and spinners of Cheshire and Lancashire, have backs and bellies, and wants and necessities like all other men, Mr. R's. answer was more calculated to irritate than console. This specimen of Mr. Ryder's *Wisdom* and *Benevolence* shews that he has gone beyond St. Paul, either in *piety* or *something else*; for this great Apostle only ventured to say, "*Having food and raiment let us be therewith content.*" 1 Tim. 6 c.—8v. Neither do I find a sentence in the whole compass of my Bible that goes beyond St. Paul's admonition. If Mr. Secretary Ryder has got a Version of the Bible, which teaches poor men with hungry bellies and starving wives and children to be *content* and "*patient.*" and *happy*, he had better favour his wretched country with an edition of it, seeing it was never more needed. Or if Mr. Secretary Ryder with his thousands a year, has found in his *Materia Medica* a recipe which will deliver poor people from the torment of an empty stomach, he is now bound in duty and conscience to make it public.

But if Mr. Secretary Ryder, be still determined to preach his favourite doctrine of *Starvation*, and *patience*, I will venture to predict that he never will make many proselytes: for though a knave or a fool might teach this doctrine, yet neither knaves or fools, nor wise men, ^{nor} would believe and embrace it. However, if Mr. Ryder have a Wife and Children let him try his new doctrine of *Starvation* and *Patience* upon them, and then he will learn to believe what Theologians teach, or ought to teach, namely, that the most difficult part of religion, is the *Practical part*!

Not will it be ill timed here to notice the equ-

duct of Magistrates, both in Town and Country, relative to the Poor, Some of these men obtain their magistracy, merely by their property, otherwise they have every disqualification, being both illiterate and sensual. I have seen one of these Magistrates upon the Bench with a face and nose so well primed with what the *Irish* are pleased to call *Speaking Drops*, that is, Punch, Port Wine, &c. that one might almost have lighted a match at his nose. This Magistrate hectorred and blustered in *fine* style, over a group of poor, meagre, ragged people, who were making their appeals for parochial relief. This Magistrate, I doubt not judging by his face would frequently expend more money at one sitting, even beyond his necessities, than his weekly allowance, to many of the appellant poor!

But, on the other hand, there are among the Magistrates many sober, thoughtful and well informed men. Now when these Magistrates are on the Bench, and a group of poor ragged, hunger bitten appellants before them, does it never occur to their minds, that there is something radically wrong some where? that national constitutions and usages are not what they should be? That the great extremes of wealth and poverty are the offsprings of laws made in ignorance and maintained by avarice? that the Poor are some way or other wronged, and there is a better way of redressing their wrongs than by the granting the degrading and paltry pittance of a few shillings a week?

Whilst I am speaking of Magistrates I shall take the liberty to notice another point of practice in which they are materially implicated, and which is, the *swearing in of Recruits*. Thousands and tens of thousands of poor Men, but especially of Poor Men's Son's are taken in the days of their ignorance and inexperience, and sworn into the army. These
poor

poor unfortunate creatures are for the most part roughly used for a short time, until they have learned what is called their *discipline*, after which they are sent abroad to almost certain destruction; and in a cause too, which will not for a moment bear the investigation of unbiaſſed reason. I need not attempt to ſupport this ſtatement by adducing facts, ſince what is paſſing at the preſent day is before every one's eyes. Now, ye Magiſtrates, theſe poor creatures who are deſtroyed by diſeaſe, fatigue or ſlaughter in ſuch multitudes, have all paſſed through your hands! Are you quite clear of their blood? Or if you ſtand acquitted by the political conſtitutions of men, do your own conſciences acquit you? Do you never feel any qualms of conſcience or perturbation of ſpirit, when you are in the very act of doing that by a poor man's child which you would not do by your *own* child for a thouſand worlds? Or ſuppoſing you can make ſhift to bribe your conſciences for the preſent, by pleading ſuperior authority, precedent and general uſage, are you ſure that the divine being will be appeaſed by ſuch pleas and apologies? Have you no miſtruſt on this point? Can you ſee no reaſon for miſtruſt? Don't you know that men will not be judged at the laſt day by the laws of any political conſtitution made by men, but by the moral conſtitution made by God for all men, for all ages, and all generations. Here methinks, the words of JOB may be put very appropriately into your mouths—*What then ſhall I do when God riſeth up? and when he viſiteth, what ſhall I answer him?* Job. 31—14.

In the year 1793, the Cotton Trade, was greatly ſtagnated, in conſequence of which there was great embarrassment and diſtreſs in Lancashire. It was thought by ſome that the *Great Statesman now no more*, PITT, cauſed this ſtagnation of Commerce, in order to throw poor men out of

employment and into the army ! Be this as it may, I was told that within six months in that year, no less than twenty-two thousand men enlisted into the army in Lancashire, only. And moreover I saw numbers of these poor men set out for the Continent, and was afterwards told that many of them were stretched out lifeless on the bloody plains of French Flanders, within six weeks from the time of their enlistment ! This tragical story is still further aggravated by the conduct of some of the Manchester Magistrates, one in particular, who boasted and gloried in the spirit of what he and his compeers called loyalty, because they had been the agents in swearing such multitudes of men into the army ! But there is a day coming when, perhaps these Manchester Magistrates may hear again of this matter : I mean the day of judgment !

Governments have usurped a power which they are pleased to call a *right*. They have usurped a power to *enlist*, to *ballot*, and to *impress* men, for the purposes of devastation and carnage. Therefore those almost divine creatures called *men*, who were and are made but a little lower than the very angels of heaven, and are destined to, and capable of obtaining a name and a place amongst the shining ranks of cherubim and seraphim ; who were destined both by creation and redemption to attain the image of God on earth, and to see heaven's King in his beauty in heaven for ever and ever, can never be designed by the benevolent Creator to be marshalled in bands and groups, and then called *troops* : and then again called *disposable forces* ; and then packed off in multitudes into foreign countries to murder and be murdered. But I console myself by hoping that the time will come, when the principles of the Gospel, and the peaceable spi-

rit of Jesus Christ, shall have so far influenced the hearts of men, that they will prefer a *rope* to a *sword*, and choose rather to go to a *gallows* than to a Regiment! Never, never will Christianity gain the ascendancy over the cursed politics of this world, until that is the case! Therefore haste happy day, when men shall choose to be murdered, rather than become professional murderers!

Nor ought I to omit the mention of another blemish in the Magisterial character. I find by the hearing of the ear, and by actual observation, that Magistrates are in general opposed to *Parliamentary Reform*. There are some exceptions, but not many. This conduct in Magistrates respecting Parliamentary Reform, has caused some to suspect that they are a *chosen generation*, and that they are closely allied to a *Royal Priesthood*: indeed many of them are *Priests*: and it is further observed that these two orders of men are capable, if so disposed, of being great impediments to the liberties of mankind. However, there are a few among them, o their praise be it spoken, both Priests and Magistrates, who have boldly advocated the cause of Parliamentary Reform. These men are estimable in proportion to their scarcity.

Nothing can, whilst the present, system of things continues, turn up any good for the poor. The great improvements that have been made in agriculture within the last forty years, and the tens of thousands of acres of land inclosed within the last twenty years, have made a prodigious augmentation in the quantity of corn grown in this nation: and in the mean time, the exports of multitudes of men, who are the consumers of corn, might have excited a reasonable expectation that the price of it would have been at least at a medium. But it

is not so. On the contrary, (and strange to tell) corn has advanced in price in proportion as it has augmented in quantity !

I have been told by a Farmer, who was respectable both for age and probity, that the same compass of land produces at the present day full three times as much grain as it did in the days of his youth. This he attributed to the superior methods of modern agriculture. I am willing to believe that there was some exaggeration in this statement though I am certain it was asserted in sincerity. On the other hand the great enclosures that have lately been made, are so obvious to every one's eyes, that there is neither necessity for proof - nor pretext for contradiction.

Perhaps the Farmer and the Corn Factor would put in a word here, and say, "But our land Rentals have been doubled in many instances within the last twenty years, and therefore we must advance the price of our corn. In this allegation there is but too much truth. But then, Sirs, to every additional penny imposed upon you by your Rack-Rent Landlords, (and there are many of these,) don't you put on another pennyworth of oppression, and so make it twopence? It is thus that Farmers and Cornfactors, can if they choose, not only indemnify themselves, but even make an advantage of the exhortions of their superiors ; and that they do so, is but too clearly seen, and too painfully felt!

But, let us now suppose that a few Mechanics, who are mostly by reason of oppression become beggars, should combine in order to obtain an augmentation of their wages, for the purpose of meeting the extra expences of provisions. Would this conduct be tolerated? O no : this would be contrary to *Law and Civil Order* : for though one of the *Priviledged Order*

has a right to let out his land at a guinea a square yard if he chooses, which he can do without violating either *Law* or *Civil Order*: Yet the mechanic who is only a poor low bred fellow, a Beggar! Should he combine with his fellows to augment his wages, must be arrested, imprisoned, or bailed till the next sessions: and then he and his poor hungry coadjutors are tried, when some are imprisoned, and others bound to their good behaviour, &c. So much for *Equal Laws*, and *Equal Rights*!

Agricultural Society.—The price of Corn, as I believe, is in no small degree affected by the *Reports* of this Society. Were all men honest, the institution of this Society would have been a greater benefit to mankind than perhaps any other institution in the world. But as things are, I am afraid the Agricultural Society has done much harm, since its foundation, Corn has seldom been at a reasonable rate, much less cheap; and as to Land Rentals, they have generally been doubled, and in some instances trebled. The *Reports* of this Society are periodical: and I think the prices of grain, are stated weekly. Now there are men whose attention is broad awake, and whose avaricious feelings are trembling alive to every opportunity of getting money: and such men, morality being scarcely a secondary consideration with them, have no scruple about the means, if they can but accomplish their end, which is—to get money.

There are Farmers in the nation, who hold several hundreds of Acres of arable land. To such men, an advance of only two shillings per load on their Corn, would be a very material object: and it would not be much trouble for these men to find a corner of a field of corn, *blighted*,

sprouted; or *smutted*; or they might hear of such a circumstance; or at least they might say they had heard of such a circumstance among their neighbours. They might then send *their own* account of it to the Agricultural Society. The Society of course, publish the account; for they are like news-printers, they want news. Then all the corn-factors and Farmers in the Kingdom are alarmed; or at least they pretend to be alarmed. The next news we hear is, the markets are affected, and the faces of the poor receive an additional grinding!

Let not the reader suppose that this is mere fabrication; for I have been credibly informed that such things have been! But can poor hungry Beggars retaliate upon mankind, by playing off these knavish pranks upon any other class of Society? O no: whatever shuffling and cutting, and quirking, and quibbling, and lying and cheating, there may be amongst others, the present system of things will not permit them to look for any indemnification! Any steps which they can take will perhaps be called *illegal combination*, or *rioting*; and then some may be shot by the military; others tried by Judge and Jury, and some hanged and others transported!

And here also I will take the liberty of stepping out of my way, to notice the influence of *News Paper Paragraphs*. I have observed several instances wherein the prices of provisions have been suddenly augmented by these paragraphs. In the spring of this present year 1812, a time of the year when bad crops can never result from bad weather, I was acquainted with a notable instance to this purpose. A farmer having a large quantity of Potatoes in horde, would have sold any quantity of them to the retailers at the rate of *five pence* per peck: but it pleased the High

Mightiness of some London News Printer, to insert a Paragraph setting forth the *alarming scarcity* of Provisions in general, and Potatoes in particular ; a circumstance of which many Farmers would otherwise have been ignorant ! This *alarming* intelligence was copied into all the Papers in the kingdom in the course of a week, or thereabouts, the consequence was, a universal joy among all those who had any provisions to sell ; and amongst the rest the Farmer who had offered his potatoes at the rate of *five pence* the peck, now absolutely refused *twenty pence* per peck, even in the wholesale way ! Potatoes were now retailed in this part of the nation at two shillings, and two shillings and fourpence per peck ; and it became a favour to obtain them even at *two and fourpence* ! Now, if these News Printers who by their paragraphs can absolutely augment the price of provisions all over the kingdom in less than a fortnight, could with as much facility augment the wages of labourers and mechanics, one might make shift to have some patience with their folly. But when it is considered that these men who can do the poor such essential mischief in regard to provisions, could not with all their arguments and paragraphs together, in the compass of *seven years*, cause a universal rise in the wages of labourers and mechanics, one knows not by what words nor in what language sufficiently to reprobate their mischievous conduct !

Rack rent Landlords, are also charged with causing the high price of provisions : and this charge is not without foundation. It is indeed afflicting to the ingenuous mind, only to witness the unreasonable and unfeeling manner in which Farms have been disposed of, and rentals raised. The Estatesman, or Landlord, evidently, yea

and avowedly, takes this for his maxim—*I have a right to do what I please with my own!* From this indigested proposition, the proud, unfeeling Landlord infers, that he has a right to let out his Land for fifty pounds an acre if he chooses; not aware that as Laws are now constituted, that which is right in Law, is frequently wrong in reason.

Besides, we need only carry this maxim, to its extent, in order to shew its impropriety. Let us then suppose that all the Land owners should utterly refuse either to let or sell any part of their land, or its produce: what would be the consequence? Certainly, either starvation or insurrection! What then becomes of the maxim?

But, further, let us see what the proud Aristocrat would say, supposing *another class* of men were to adopt this plausible maxim. And, let us suppose that this other class of men should be the *Poor*; and that they should take it into their heads to say, “Our *physical strength* is our own; and therefore according to the received maxims of *great men*, we have a right to do *what we will with our own*. If therefore we should chuse to unite our strength and then take what we please, and where we please, this would only be acting up to the *great man’s* given maxim—*Every one has a right to do what he will with his own.*” Here then it is hoped that the high minded Statesman will see how much better it is to follow the dictates of reason than the maxims of power: and that the definition of Liberty, is not, *to do what we please*—but—*to do whatever will not hurt another.*

The Poor man has yet another plea against the great man’s maxim, and which would mightily puzzle the great man, if he were not too much habituated to oppose authority to reason,

and self will to common sense. Supposing then it be true, that, *every man has a right to do what he will with his own*, has not the poor man, with his poor carcass, a right to walk the streets without being Kidnapped by order of the rich man, and sent by main force to be a partaker in mischief and murder? Is it fair, is it just, that because the rich man has got great possessions, therefore he should be a *priviledged order*, and that his very carcass should be too sacred for a *Ballot* and a *Press-gang*, whilst the Poor Man who has got nothing but his carcass, is not allowed, for that reason, to make the best he can even of that; but must be subjected to be Ballotted for the army, or impressed for the navy? And if these things be so, where is the boasted liberty of the Englishman? and what are we to understand by such phrases as the following, Glorious Constitution—The Englishman's house is his Castle—Free Government—Equal Laws and equal rights, &c. &c.

But to return to the subject of *Dear Corn*: whilst Rack-rent Landlords continue to exercise their unbounded power, over their land, as they hitherto have done, it will be vain to feast ourselves with the expectation of any permanent moderation in the price of grain, since avarice appears to have taken as deep root in the minds of those who are styled *Noble*, as in the Merchant and the Mercenary.

I know an instance of a Landlord advancing his land rentals to such a degree, that in the knowledge and experience, of one Tenant, an old man, the rental is even more than quadrupled! And other tenants in general have been tripled. This Rack-rent Landlord is an immoral man: leading a dissolute life; and report says that he has been known to gamble away Ten thousand pounds

at a single wager ! Is it much wonder that corn is so dear ?

In the year 1810, a *Great Man*, whose Estate lies not far from Nottingham, commanded all his Tenants upon Lease, to bring in their Leases, before they were out, and take them out again at an advanced rent, on pain of being for ever dismissed at the end of the lease, in case of non-compliance. I understand, most of the Tenants complied with this villainous mandate, rather than be disinherited at the end of the Lease. Now reader, laying aside prejudice and partiality, what would be the epithets and character, applied to a Poor Man acting in the same way ? Would he not have to sustain the appellations of wretch, rascal, scoundrel, and villain ; and would he not merit such names ? And is it not surprizing that *Great Men* who should have the most honour, can not only act without honour, but with the basest knavery, and yet be *men of honour* still, yea even *Right Honourable Gentlemen* ?—And is not this another way to make dear corn ?

In the same year, 1810, another *Great Man*, not far from Hillsborough in Ireland, finding or perhaps hearing from London, that his Tenants' Leases were out, decreed that every Tenant who should choose to continue on his Farm, must pay a fine of ten guineas per acre, and also an advanced rent ! It is scarcely possible to describe the chilling amazement, the perplexity and distress, occasioned by this worse than cruel mandate ! To quit the Farm was to go to uncertainty, poverty, or ruin ! To stay was to be reduced to bondage by borrowing even where borrowing was practicable ! I think I heard it said that the above Irish *Great Man* had *only* about *Ninety Thousand a Year* to live upon, before he raised and fined his Tenants ! But supposing he had *only* forty thousand per annum,

might he not have made some *shift* for food and raiment without ruining some and distressing many? — But *Great men* have a *right* to do what they will with their own? Yet *Little men*, alias poor beggars, cannot do what they please even with their poor lean, half starved carcasses, so long as there are *Bailotting* days and *Press-gangs*? However, this fining of Tenants and raising of rents. still tends to the common centre of all such oppressions, namely, to make *Corn dear*!

Paper Money, is another cause of dear corn, and other provisions. This kind of Money having only old rags for its capital, and the loan of it to speculators being made very advantageous to the fabricators, the gain of a few and the oppression of the many have thereby gone hand in hand.

Among the many subjects of speculation to which Paper Money is applied, corn is not the least. The Banker has plenty of Paper Money, and he wishes to profit by it. The Corn Factor has mighty projects in his head about making a great fortune in a little time, and he wants the means to accomplish his purpose: These two mighty Fortune Hunters become acquainted with each other, and the one lends money which he has made out of old shirts and old night-caps, and the other promises good interest for it; he obtains it; and then with paper in hand, proceeds to buy up the subsistence of his fellow creatures, and to make others mourn and pine, in order that he may thrive and shine. All the Corn getting thus into few hands, its price is arbitrarily fixed by the sellers; and being also an essential of life, it cannot be foregone by the buyers. And moreover, however plentiful an article may be, when it is sold by few and wanted by many, it will most certainly be dear; and this is the reason I seriously believe, why we have had so much dear corn of late years. There

has been a plenty of corn but a paucity of the sellers of it : and whenever Great Britain can and will so constitute property laws, that Land shall be in many hands, then the number of corn sellers will be much encreased, and consequently the number of corn buyers much diminished ; and then corn will never be dear but when it is really very scarce.

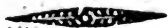
This statement of the case, I apprehend, gives a better answer to the question "Why are provisions so dear?" than many of those Pamphlets which have been written on the subject, for those Pamphleteers have but too frequently diluted and dilated their subject, until it has become fungous and vapid ; in Job's language, they have *darkened counsel by a multitude of words*. But, that the drift and force of my argument may strike the reader more powerfully, I will make the supposition that all the *water* in England should get into the hands and power of fifty persons. Now every one knows that the nation contains ten thousand times more water than can ever be used. Nevertheless say thoughtful and observant reader, would not water on this supposition still be made to fetch a good price ? And would not a week or two of drouthy weather put a pretext into the mouths of the *water owners*, and set them on to raise the price of water to an alarming degree ? Especially if the *water selles* knew that there were plenty of soldiers and Constables to quell the rising clamours of the *water buyers* ? If this argument be solid, and I think it is, it shews what I wish the reader to see, namely, that corn may be *dear* when it is not *scarce*, and that to prevent such public afflictions, Paper Money must be suppressed, and landed property more equally divided ; for by the suppression of Paper Money, Monopolization will be less practicable ; and by the more equal distribution of

of landed property, the Reservation of grain, as practised by great Farmers, will be impossible !

To all the above causes of dear corn, may be added by way of supplement, the sweeping purchases of Contractors for *foreign armies, fleets and expeditions*. These Government agents being furnished with money out of the national purse, go forth into the markets Jehu like : and if it be corn they want, they only look at a few samples, or perhaps but one sample ; or what is often the case, employ an under agent or deputy to transact the business for them. If beef be wanted for the Victualing Office, then they go to the market or the fair ; look among the Bullocks a few minutes ; and, touching them with the end of their stick, or perhaps more commonly, pointing at them with their stick, count them off, and so the bargain is made and the business is done ! Now there are many half witted News Printers who are always agog for something to fill up their pages. These men make up a Paragraph, in which they inform the public how much corn, or how many bullocks were purchased by the government contractors ; this paragraph affords a pretext to corn factors, and Farmers to sound the alarm of scarcity, and then to grind again the faces of the Poor !

THE

WAR in SPAIN and PORTUGAL.



The War in the Peninsula, as it is called, is of dreadful consequence to this country, for several reasons. The first and least is, the enormous expenditure of money ; and even at a time when the nation is insolvent ! Secondly, On account of the

prodigious number of lives sacrificed in that diabolical enterprize: perhaps it will not be too much to rate the number of British Soldiers who perish by this means, at *fifty thousand* men! To say nothing of the lives of Frenchmen, Spaniards, Portuguese and others. But the worst of all is, and that which I fear is least cared for, namely, the great moral responsibility brought upon this nation, under the governance of an Almighty and infinitely just God!

The people in general of this nation, have but very inadequate notions of the war in question; because for the most part they view it through the perverted medium of hireling, or half hearted newspapers. A few words therefore in explanation may be of use to ordinary readers.

Before the French ever set foot in Spain, that country was oppressed beyond description, by a compound system of despotism in the *King*; pride and power in the *Nobility*; and craft and superstition in the *Priesthood*! the people were in consequence become spiritless, indolent, and poor.

The King could do as he pleased; and as unbounded power commonly makes good men bad, and always makes bad men worse, the people of Spain had the mortification like many other nations, to spend whole ages without being blessed with a single good King! They on the contrary as the fashion generally is, went from bad to worse. A worthy divine of the church of England, who flourished a hundred years ago, or upwards, speaking of Kings, expresses a very low opinion both of their merit, and their value to mankind: and he illustrates his opinion by saying, that the Kingdom of Judah had, from first to last, *twenty* Kings, and but some *three or four* good ones in the whole: but says he, the

Kingdom of Israel had from first to last *nineteen* Kings, and *not one* good one among them all! By the bye, however, if this be true, it is a very bad illustration of that constitutional maxim of some countries, namely, that *Kings can do no wrong*! But as the Bible is in every one's hands, it is in the power of every one to ascertain the truth or falsehood of this Churchman's statement, respecting the Kings of Judah and Israel.

The *Nobility* of Spain had become proverbial for their pride: and such pride as theirs can never be maintained without oppression. The Farmers under them were reduced to the lowest degree of dependence and wretchedness: for, according to the laws of Spain, when a Farmer died, he could not leave his cattle, and other personal property upon the premises, to his children: all belonged to the Landlord! The natural consequence of this was, a universal indolence: and hence it was also that a Spaniard became proverbial for inactivity and sloth: The "lazy Spaniard," was in almost every one's mouth; and could it be a subject of wonder that the Spaniards should be indolent, seeing the motive for industry was, by this chilling and benumbing system; entirely taken away? Are not all men inclined to indolence, when the motive for industry, namely, acquisition and reward, are put beyond their power? such then was the state of Spain under the old *Nobility*:

The *Priesthood* of Spain formed another notorious branch of oppression in that nation. It was said in the public records that the Priesthood had accumulated bequests and endowments to their churches and Monasteries, even in landed property, to the amount of one third of the whole surface of the nation! This property, independent of religious influence, gave the Priest-

hood a prodigious power over the people : because as the world now goes, property is power. In addition to this; we have to take in the great influence those Priests have, who being Romish Priests, can forgive sins, and grant or sell indulgences. These three branches, then, the *King*, *Nobility*, and *Priesthood*, formed one stock of cruel oppression, which bore upon the people of Spain with an increasing and intolerable weight, and called loudly either for reformation or revolution !

It was this view then of the oppressions of Spain that caused some of her discerning and patriotic men of wealth (for perhaps no nation was ever without a few such men) to request Buonaparte to come and take down the old complicated fabric, and thereby give to Spain a fair chance for a better system of government. Buonaparte being thus invited, is not quite so much of a tyrant and Usurper, as some people either from sinister motives or ignorance, would make us believe. The French Emperor, therefore, took an imposing force, four or five years ago, and went to Madrid and took down the old system of corruption and oppression, with little noise and very little mischief.

Having accomplished the project of breaking up the old government, and removed the Royal Family to France, Buonaparte retired from Madrid to Paris, leaving his army in whole or in part, under *DuPont*. This General, traversing the country towards Cadiz, was so imprudent as to divide his small army into two parts, at least. Some old system Nobles and some Priests being mightily offended with the apprehension of a new order of things, stirred up the people ; and having drawn together a considerable number of men, they first attacked the

of Dupont's little armies, commanded as I now think by General *Moncey*. Having defeated and captured this General, they next set upon Dupont himself, and in consequence of their great numerical superiority, they captured both him and his army also.

The English Ministry, ever watching for opportunity to nibble at Buonaparte's mighty power, now thought or at least pretended to think, that there was a fair chance for giving him great annoyance. By the bye, it is here worthy of remark, that the English Ministry have been the principal instruments in making Buonaparte what he is; for, it is very probable that had England let France and her Revolution alone, this great man that now holds all the continent under his controul, would have been no more than a Lieutenant, or Captain of Artillery. But by the just judgment of God, these meddlers in mischief, have raised up a gigantic hero, at whom they are appalled and terrified. And now these Political conjurers, notwithstanding their very great skill in the black art, having by some misnomer in the the vocabulary of spirits, called up one of the *strongest* instead of one of the *weakest* of spirits, are all on the alert to get him *laid* again: but, unluckily for them, whilst they are conjuring away with all their might, in order to *lay* him, he *lays* them and their deputy conjurers at his feet, by ten and twenty thousand in a day! Had these state conjurers paid a little more attention to Solomon's Proverbs, and a great deal less regard to BURKE's *Thoughts on the French Revolution*, they would certainly have been in a better plight than at the present they are. Solomon says, *He that passeth by, and meddleth with strife belonging not to him, is like one that taketh a dog by the ears!* Prov. 26—17

However the English Ministry, recruited, balloted and regimented a great number of poor men's sons, and poor women's husbands. The ballotted men were frequently lured by a bribe into the regulars : and then these poor creatures whom God made and Christ redeemed, were called, according to the political slang of modern times, a *disposable force*, and sent in multitudes to Spain and Portugal. There they have been harrassed by fatigue, hunger, and thirst, and frequently want of shoes, stockings and linen, until life itself became an intolerable burden. They have been despised, taunted and hated, and called heretics by the people they went professedly to assist. They have been denied food by those people, either in the way of gift or sale and purchase ; and these *helping* Englishmen, have frequently been under the necessity of drawing their swords and killing their Spanish and Portuguese *Friends*, in order to get a morsel of bread from them ! Besides all this, the Battles skirmishes and sieges that have there taken place, have been attended with such slaughter, carnage and devastation as to chill the blood even of a careless reader, how much more then of a humane spectator !

The retreat of Sir John Moore, about the beginning of the year 1809, must be fresh in every one's memory. In that retreat, money was thrown away and much of it picked up by the enemy : great quantities of stores were burned or abandoned : and the whole ended in a bloody battle at Corunna, the death of Sir John Moore, and a precipitate and confused embarkation. Since that period, the English Ministry have redoubled their efforts : and the subsequent expenditure of both money and blood, have far out-gone the waste and loss of Sir John Moore. With regard to the successes of Lord Wellington, so called, I look upon them as the symptoms of the divine vengeance, who, because

he is highly provoked with us for the devastations and carnage we have occasioned, suffers us at once to be both infatuated and impoverished, by our achievements : and I am seriously of opinion, that Mr. Wellesley will finally be driven out of Spain and Portugal.

But, in the mean time why is it, O, why is it that all this slaughter of human beings should go on, and continue to go on from year to year, and no one put on the bowels of compassion for his fellow creatures—no one stand up between the living and the dead—no one seems willing to risk even a finger or a farthing, for the salvation of his poor suffering countrymen, who are mostly taken in their youth, and led away in their simplicity and inexperience to be slaughtered with far more rueful circumstances of cruelty, than are ever practised by butchers in a slaughter house ! Ye Ministers of the Gospel, what are you doing ? Did ever the great shepherd tell you to stand quietly looking on whilst the wolves destroy the sheep ? Ye Bishops who not only stand by as tame and careless spectators, but in your privileged function as statesmen, authorize and sanction such proceedings, what can you say for yourselves ? Are not you in your Pastoral office, peculiarly, and in a high degree the *Messengers of the Gospel, and the Glory of Christ*.—are not you *ambassadors for God*—and deputies for the Prince of peace ? The Divine Being is at this moment in great want of a *Nathan* to go unto the wicked in power, and say *thou art the man* ? The Divine Being is in immediate want of an *Elijah* ; and a *Micaiah*, to carry unwelcome news to a modern *Ahab* : and the Divine Being wants a *John the Baptist*, to charge a wicked *Herod* with Criminality, to his face ! But whom shall God send ? The Bishops who ought to be first on such an errand, having implicated themselves in

the guilt of abetting war with all its concomitant calamities, have thereby rendered themselves the most ineligible persons in the world ; for they will naturally affect consistency, without considering perhaps, that a thing may be right in its parts relatively, and yet wrong in the whole : as every sentence in a book may be very correct, and all its arguments consistent with each other, and yet the book on the whole may be a very bad one. In like manner the conduct of the Bishops may be free from inconsistency in its parts, and, nevertheless, in respect to the subject in hand, down right bad upon the whole.

And ye inferior Clergy and Dissenting Ministers, what apology can you make for yourselves? Are not you also chosen and set apart from the common mass of mankind to be the servants, of the living God, and to stand between the living and the dead? And can ye stand heedlessly by and behold the slaughter of your poor fellow mortals without either moving your tongues or stirring your pens. Perhaps you will say, there is a great risk in speaking the truth now-a-days. So there is, if the truths be in condemnation of the vices of men in power; and there always was, and always will be, a great risk under the same circumstances. The world has often changed its face and form, but it has never changed its spirit ! The reigning sin of the world in the Apostle's days, was *Idolatry*, and nearly all of those messengers of the Gospel, lost their lives for preaching against it. In subsequent ages the great sin of men in power was persecution, under the term *Popery* ; and myriads lost their lives for opposing *Popery*. But in these our days, *WAR*, cursed War, comprehends the prevailing vice of the great and powerful ; and if Christians were what they ought to be, they would oppose it at the risk or even at the loss of their lives ; but if men

do not now lose their lives for righteousness sake, as in ages past, it is not because there is less sin in the world, but because there is less honesty ! The world is never without a touch-stone for the trial of men's integrity. In the Apostles days, the touch-stone was *Idolatry* : "Sacrifice to our Idol" said the Heathen, "or die". At this time the Devil had hoisted his flag on the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, but for reasons best known to the Devil himself, he struck his flag there, and rehoisted it on the Vatican, at Rome : and then the test was, "Believe that the Pope or his missionaries, can forgive sins—consign men to hell, and then pray them out again—Believe in transubstantiation and extreme Unction, or go to the fire and burn." But the Devil finding that *John Wickliffe*, *Marlin Luther*, and some others, had hurt his credit in that line of business, struck his flag again, and then hoisted it on the top of the *War Office* in this and every other warring nation in the world : and now the test in all wars is, "Believe that this is a just and necessary war," even though you could prove the contrary—say and swear that you are fighting for the preservation of Liberty, though it be evident to mere common sense, that those who set you on to fight, have nothing in their intentions but to destroy the few remaining odds, ends and scraps of liberty, that exist in the world, and then to have no more of it.—"Say positively, and without hesitation, that the people of *that* nation are your enemies, and ought to be robbed hated and murdered without mercy ; and that the people of *that other* nation are your good, worthy and trusty Friends and Allies : in a very short time after this, you must change about, and then call your *Allies* your *Enemies* : and your *Enemies* your *Allies* !" Now in the midst of all this Luciferian Hocus Pocus, you must beware of giving way to the dictates of

reason, and the whispers of conscience, lest the rulers of this world should charge you with being wicked and seditious—restless Jacobins—enemies to your country and to Cæsar! In short you must at the peril of your reputation, believe that when a Government fills the world with Battle, Burning, Devastation, Commotion, Enmity, Poverty, Bankruptcies, Bribery, Spies and informers. That it is for no other purpose but to establish *order, happiness and regular governments!* But if you refuse to believe and affirm these things you must at least refrain from meddling, and hold your peace, otherwise you will become liable to persecution, prosecution, pillory, imprisonment; and ruin. Here then is the modern test of pious sincerity—He that will tamely wink at the wicked and murderous wars of corrupt governments may perhaps be quiet; and if he will applaud them, he may be rewarded for his wickedness: but should he from a knowledge of the spirit of Christianity, a sense of duty towards God, and a humane feeling for his poor murdered fellow creatures, cry out against the *Rulers of Sodom* and the *Destroyers of the earth*, he may prepare himself for the furious onset of an *Ex Officio* Gentleman, who, as spiteful tongues are disposed to say, is kept in readiness to be let slip at any honest and conscientious man, who may dare to speak or write against war, ***** which is always hatched in hell, and never carried on upon earth by any but the Devil and his agents! Here then, I say, is the modern test! Who dare be honest? Who is on the Lord's side, who? He that findeth his life (says Christ) shall lose it: and he that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it. Matt. 10.—39.

But, I cannot dismiss the Spanish War. without noticing the conduct of the British ministry, towards Spain, during this revolutionary conflict, which has

now convulsed Europe for more than twenty years, It must be within the recollection of every observant person, that England has been in *friendship*, and *enmity*, at *War* and in peace and alliance with that nation, several times, at least more than once. Some time ago, the English fleets beat the Spanish fleets and blocked up the Spanish Ports. And on one occasion, whilst England was in the very act of negociation, and in a state of Peace with Spain, the English government sent four Frigates to take four Spanish Frigates upon the high seas, because they were richly laden, with Specie from South America ; one of these we blew up, and the other three we stole and brought home. !

If we were to see one man kick another man, and spit in his face ; and then caress him, hug and kiss him, and call him dearly beloved brother : and then again pick his pockets, kick him and break his head and spit in his face ; and then again embrace him and call him most noble friend, and the bravest and the best of men, and so forth, we should just see the relative picture of England and Spain ; or at least the picture of England in reference to Spain !

When I was a boy I sometimes saw what are called Morris Dancers, and frequently I witnessed country dances. In viewing the latter of these, I observed the dancers were generally arranged in a double row. When the Fidler struck off, two of the dancers at one end of the row, would go capering up the outside and then turn in at the other end and caper down the middle, when at the bottom again, two more would join them, then they went right and left ; after this they crossed hands, each laying hold of his opposite : now they scampered round one after another like a wheel, by and bye they let go and changed hands, facing the quite contrary way, then like a wheel they scampered

that way! Now, this is but a whimsical metaphor I grant, but I can find no better by which to represent the conduct of some statesmen in different countries: for all their practice, instead of being in a straight line, the straight line of truth, is *up and down: right and left: cross hands, face about; in and out: cross hands and back again:* and in short it is all zigzag and hurley burley, and I am afraid that too frequently, the devil is their Fidler!

NAVAL AND MILITARY VICTORIES.



AMONG all the affairs of men there is nothing so deceitful as Military Victories: for, generally, except the acquisition of that untangible, metaphysical, invisible something called *Glory*, they are equally ruinous with defeats. But this is not the worst: victories are not always certain indications of a righteous cause. God once gave a foolish nation a King in his wrath, and on another occasion he gave to the guilty Benjamites two *victories* even whilst he was intending their final overthrow! Judges Chap. 20 In like manner it frequently happens that military success attends, for a while at least, those nations with whom the Divine Being is highly displeased; and the success is intended to be a judicial infatuation, to lure such nations on to their own ruin, as have proved themselves incorrigible and irreclaimable. And though such nations may proclaim *thanksgiving days* for their victories, yet even these thanksgivings do not announce their gratitude so much as their folly, and are frequently a striking proof of their infatuation and judicial blindness.

Now, my serious opinion is, that many of the Naval Victories gained by Great Britain, have tended

tended to her downfall. This I am aware will rank me amongst heterodox politicians ; but no matter for that ; my province is not *orthodox politics*, but as far as I know it, the *naked truth*. Had our Naval Victories, which we obtained at the commencement of the present war, been defeats, I believe we should now have been a comparatively happy nation ! for we should long ago have made peace and maintained it ; and thereby have saved millions of money and thousands of lives, besides the preservation of our commerce, which there is reason to fear, is now irretrievably ruined. In my humble opinion had Lord Howe's Victory of June 1st 1794, been a defeat, it would have been a glorious day for all the honest and industrious part of the people of England : because the pragmatistical PITT and his wicked coadjutors, would have been thereby humbled, and in all probability induced to find somebody in France capable of maintaining the *accustomed relations of amity and peace* !

With regard to Nelson's victory of the Nile, on August 1st, 1798, it ~~as~~ ever appeared to me as *had* one of the most calamitous events for both Europe and Asia, and indeed for all the world. that perhaps ever happened. For, in the first place, PITT, who had said in the House of Commons, that the French "*must be made to renounce their principles ;*" and on another occasion, alluding to our various disasters "*Providence is against us, but we must exert ourselves !*" began with the rest of his fraternity in various courts, to be weary of disasters and disgrace, and to think of patching up a peace : and it is even said that a peace was at that time on the eve of being signed. But alas ! intelligence came that Nelson had entirely defeated the French Fleet at Aboukir. Then that son of mischief PITT, took fresh heart, threw

aside all thoughts of negociation for peace ; the infatuated people of England illuminated their windows, some from folly, some from interest and others from fear : they also threw up rockets, fired squibs and crackers, and then huzzaed. The afflicting, the tremendous calamities subsequent to that event, have been so many, and are so recent, that they must be fresh in every one's memory !

But, Nelson's victory was a great evil in another point of view,—it made the Land of Egypt once more a House of Bondage ! Before Buonaparte conquered Egypt, the poor miserable inhabitants of that ill-fated country, were governed by a set of rascally fellows called *Beys* : these beys had under them respectively, a horde of armed ruffians called *Mamlucs*. These Beys and their cruel Mamlucs sometimes warred with each other ; but they always plundered and robbed and frequently murdered the poor people. According to *M. Denon's* account who accompanied Buonaparte's Expedition to Egypt, when the Beys took it into their heads to levy taxes upon the people, or in other words to plunder them, they entered a town or Village at the head of their Mamlucs, who are a kind of Cavalry, drew up in battle array before the houses they meant to plunder, and then demanded, (sword in hand,) what they pleased. Many of the poor terrified inhabitants, on the first appearance of these banditti, if time permitted, would run away from their dwellings and hide themselves until the storm was blown over : but on their return from their hiding places would frequently find their houses plundered or burnt. And these terrific robberies, were frequently accompanied with Murder. Now the consequence of this kind of government from age to age, was, that there were but few people in Egypt who had

any property, property being equivalent to great danger; therefore nearly all the inhabitants were by necessity despicably poor.

But, what is not a little singular, among all the great Sticklers for the *Deliverance of Europe*, none of the *Pitts*, nor *Burkes* nor *Wyndhams*, nor *Colonel Macks* nor *Count Suarrows*, who have made a shift to *Deliver* nearly all the governments of Europe from the *thralldom of independence*, ever thought it an object worthy of their *immaculate* and *Heaven born* souls to *Deliver* the poor oppressed and helpless inhabitants of Egypt, from the infernal cruelty of these rascally Beys and their Mamlucs, who were scarcely good enough to be hanged!

However, France undertook the laudable task of chastising the Beys and overthrowing them and their savage Mamlucs. Egypt it is true, was at that time nominally under the government of the Turks: but as the Beys ruled almost according to their own pleasure, and brought to the Turkish government but little profit, the latter did not feel much interest in the fate of that country. It is said therefore by a political Writer, I think *Lewis Goldsmith*, that the French Egyptian Expedition, went with the approbation, or at least the connivance of the Turkish Government, who were not unapprized of its destination.

What might be the motives of the French Government in sending Buonaparte to subjugate Egypt, is not very easy to discover. It might be, as was said by those who would never allow the French could do any thing but wickedness, that their principal design was to get rid of Buonaparte's presence, he having acquired great fame and become an object of jealousy to the existing rulers. But as charity is better than malignant suspicion, it would be better to ascribe nothing to their motives but what is fairly evinced by their

actions. The deliverance of Egypt from oppression and its sure attendants, poverty and ignorance, was a noble project and worthy of an enlightened nation. Buonaparte went, fought, and Conquered : and the poor Egyptians, were filled with joy and amazement on being so unexpectedly rescued from tyranny and bondage.

But, *Pitt* and his compeers having conceived a most deadly enmity against the French, could not look upon the Egyptian enterprize with any but malignant eyes. Then was there a cry raised of --“Our East India Trade is in danger---French Ambition—French Agrandizement &c. &c.” At the same time *Nelson* was sent to ruin the French cause in Egypt, if possible. He succeeded in defeating their Fleet at Aboukir. The consequence was, the French army could not obtain from France the supplies it wanted, and were therefore ultimately obliged to surrender the country to the English and the Turks.

When the news of *Nelson*’s victory of the Nile as it is sometimes called, reached England, then it was that the desponding spirits of *Pitt* and company were revived ; the negociations for peace, said to be pending at that time, were abandoned : the Turks who had hitherto made little account of their loss of Egypt, were now stirred up to assert their right and vindicate their honour, by retrieving their lost possessions : and, in short, the victory of the Nile re-kindled the dying embers of war, and all Europe has blazed with war almost ever since !

Thus, by the interference of England, the reign of the arts, the sciences, the distribution of Justice and civilization, came to a speedy end, and all the pleasing prospects of the poor Egyptians were blasted and overthrown ; they being finally re-claimed by their old masters, the Beys and the Turks. What inconsistencies, what mischiefs,

may result from political malevolence ! England which has carried her arms to the East and West Indies, and made conquests in almost every part of the world, could yet have the shameless effrontery to accuse France of pursuing schemes of aggrandizement, when she invaded Egypt ! And Britannia, who affects to be a protectress of nations, a refuge for persecuted Patriots, a Patroness of Liberty, and the Defender of the Faith ; could wilfully, and at the expence of much blood and treasure, reduce poor Egypt again to the barbarous dominion of the Beys and the Turks ; and then insult the common sense of mankind, by calling this cruel treatment—a *délivrance*.

O England ! thy Navy is thy ruin ! The mighty Brick Walls of Babylon were the cause of Babylon's pride : and her pride could not be maintained without oppression : Pride and Oppression are two crying sins which never fail to call down the vengeance of a righteous God, as the Bible will amply testify to those who will consult its records. Pride goeth before destruction and a haughty spirit before a fall. Prov. 16—18. The towering Walls of Babylon could make no resistance when the Hand Divine was lifted up against them ; and the *Wooden Wall of Old England* will fare no better under the same circumstances. By reason of our Navy we have been too much disposed to Hector and Bully other nations : and impudently to tell the world that, *Britannia Rules the Waves* ! By this kind of language, and a correspondent conduct, we have made almost all the world our enemies ! and consequently have brought ourselves into ten times more peril than we could possibly have been, had we never been possessed of a single ship of war. We have exacted that homage from other nations which we should have scorned to

have paid them : and of course we have done as we would not have been done unto, which is the very essence of injustice. We took the Spanish Frigates, and we took the Danish Fleet, and in both cases when we were not at war with the parties we robbed : and more conduct of the same kind might be adduced.

But, independent of all these considerations, there is another argument, which is weighty with me, though it may be airy with others. The protection and preservation of a nation, are mighty concerns, and can be accomplished by none but the Divine Being. And though it may be said that the Almighty rules the world by human means, which is generally true, yet I think we ought in justice to the Divine Being, to assert, that all bad means are rather by his permission than his appointment : and indeed I think that most of the human institutions now subsisting in the world, are of this description. When I contemplate the conduct and character of Naval Seamen, in reference to their morals. I cannot help suspecting that their appointment as guardians of the nation is not from that righteous Lord that loveth righteousness and hateth iniquity. I cannot believe that men who have blasphemy against God, and the most nasty and odious language towards each other, continually upon their tongues, are either by the appointment, or under the blessing of a holy God ordained to be the protectors of a nation. They are more likely by their blasphemous tongues and rapacious lives to call down the vengeance of Heaven, than to avert the fury of nations. The preservation of a kingdom is a great and good thing, and, I think, God does not usually do the best things by the worst means ! The haughty Aristocrat says the Navy of England has saved the country ; but I think it has ruined it ! This language, I am fully aware,

will by many, be esteemed as palpable falshood : be it so : but, as a Frenchman once said on a certain occasion, "though it be false now, it will be true sometime !" For, as Cicero says,—*Nature and time destroy the vain opinions of the day, but sooner or later, confirm the dictates of Wisdom.*

Respecting the Beys of Egypt, it is here worthy of Notice, that since the English nation restored them to their cruel power, the Turks have, according to the Newspapers, entirely overthrown them, and have thereby done that service to humanity which the English would neither perform themselves, nor suffer to be done by the French ! But, alas, the poor Egyptians, are still under the dominion of the barbarous Mahomedans ; and they may thank England for it.

The narrow policy of Mercantile avarice was strikingly exemplified in the conduct of some London Merchants, who gave to Sir S—y S—th, with great ceremony, a very grand sword for his great services in Egypt ! because as they supposed, or pretended to suppose, by the restoration of Egypt to its wonted system of government, our East India Trade was secured ! Good God ! What will impartial posterity say to these things : and when will wisdom and humanity get the better of avarice and ignorance !

PROFANATION OF CHURCHES, BELLS, &c.

WAR, in its almost endless ramifications of evil, extends its baneful and blasphemous influence as far as Churches, Bells, and even the Sacristy and the Altar. With my own eyes I have repeatedly seen the martial banner waving at the top of a Church Steeple, in honour of great military ex-

ploits ! With my own ears, I have heard, numberless times, the *holy* Bells. which I apprehend were primarily designed to call men to worship and devotion, publish to the whole town and country, the *glorious* news of thousands slain ! And, least heaven should not be sufficiently insulted, and hell not sufficiently gratified by ordinary ringing, the Bells have been struck all at once, again and again, and this is called shooting, or firing the Bells !

But, bad as this is, it is by no means the worst that can be said : for, of late years we have heard of Colours being brought from the Field of Battle, sometimes all stained with human blood, and most piously deposited at the Sacred Altar ! If my memory betray me not, Saint Paul's Church and Whitehall Chapel, London, can bear testimony to the truth of this statement.

In the month of July 1812, Colonel Clinton came in haste from Plymouth to London, and in the Chaise and Four in which he spluttered along at the public expence, he had several Stand of Colours which had been taken from the French at Salamanca. The Ministerial News Printers of London were almost at their wits end to find language adequate to their extatic joy ! One of them represented the Colours as being much torn by shot. Another, to heighten the value of these precious relic, said that one of them was much stained with blood—human blood, undoubtedly ! But I think they all agreed that after these bloody trophies had lain for a little while at the Horse Guards in Parliament Street, they were, with great pomp and ceremony, and amidst a great concourse of people, conveyed to Whitehall Chapel, and there piously lodged on each side of the Sacred Altar !

I do not recollect reading of any thing, scarcely in all my life, that shocked my feeling and amazed my understanding, so much as this transaction : and

I know not which to wonder at most, the wickedness of men, or the patience of God ! Indeed it is my sincere opinion that had *Old Lucifer* been sent for express from the infernal regions, on purpose to chuse a place of deposit for the bloody banners of Salamanca, or indeed any other bloody banners, he would have chosen the very place which was chosen, as considering it the highest indignity he could offer to the Christian Religion, and the greatest possible insult to the Divine Being !

Say, ye Divines, did you ever hear of the bloody banners of Israel's enemies being lodged as trophies in the Sanctum Sanctorum of Solomon's Temple ? And is not the Communion Table the Sanctum Sanctorum of the Christian Dispensation ? Say, ye Divines, what kind and what degree of blindness, hardness and infatuation is it that possesses you when you can *see the abomination of desolation, standing in the Holy Place, and where it ought not.* Mat. 24—15. and, Mark 13—14. and yet be utterly unconcerned for the credit of religion and the honour of God ?

This consummate profanation, has not, as far as I can witness, met with any public reprehension from either Bishops, Rectors, Vicars, or Curates : no, nor from Dissenting Ministers of any denomination ! For, however these various professors of religion may differ in *opinion*, they seem to agree very well in *inclination*, which is, not to bring themselves either into trouble, or danger of trouble, for Country's *Sake* ; nor Humanity's *Sake* ; no, nor for Christ's *Sake* : at the risk of their *own dear Sake* ! Such is the present state of the Church Militant on earth, that some of its *Champions* and *Defenders* give their entire assent and consent to all these profanations : others content themselves and their consciences by saying nothing about the matter, and then gloss this cowardly conduct by telling the world that politics come not within their province : and

others again satisfy their consciences by giving broad hints in a private way, that certain transactions are not quite so good as they should be! And thus the Redeemer of the World, in his dearest interests, is still stricken, smitten, despised and rejected of men!

I cannot dismiss this subject without noticing the conduct of Colonel Clinton, and the Aristocracy. This man comes from Plymouth to London with as much haste and joy as if he had brought Salvation to the Great City; and the Aristocracy are enraptured with his glad tidings to such a degree, that they are, almost transported to madness by reason of the glorious news which he brings!

Here the reader may if he will, behold a fair sample of the genuine spirit of Aristocracy. The Aristocrat being trained up with "feast and song," is very frequently a *speculative* Atheist; but mostly a *practical* one. This proud race of men being undisciplined by adversity, pampered by high living, and flattered and fumed by hereditary titles and honours, imbibe a spirit and a principle totally heterodox to social manners and peaceful sober life! Therefore scarcely any thing that pleases other men will please Aristocrats. Great news! Glorious news! Thousands slain—Towns laid in ashes—Whole Provinces desolated—Ships sunk and all their crews perished—Fortifications blown up—A match of race horses for five thousand guineas—A Coat of Arms which might either please a Child, or scare a Monkey—A Main of Cocks for two thousand pounds—A dashing Phaeton four-in hand—A Pack of Fox Hounds—A Kennel full of Terriers, and six couple of Greyhounds—A large Park with good store of Deer and Fish Ponds—A Gamekeeper and three deputies—A Cock Feeder and half a dozen underling—Five Mistresses and no Wife: or three Mistresses and one Wife—Seven debauched

Neighbours' Wives—Fifteen ruined young Women—Two puny Legitimate Children with white heads and pale faces—Fifteen Illegitimate Children, many of them with scalled heads and scrofulous joints—Seventeen prosecuted Hare-hangers; three transported; four, fined; and ten, only imprisoned in the House of Correction, &c &c &c. And let not the Reader imagine the features of this picture too keenly pourtrayed. for though it may be over-drawn for some, yet it is under-drawn for others. There is a *Great Man* in the West of England, head of a *Great Family*, who is said to have, and I believe with truth, twenty-one illegitimate children; besides I apprehend, a wife and some legitimate offspring, which makes his case still the worse. This *Great Man* is also a Magistrate! It may therefore, of course, be expected that this *Great Man*, in the exercise of his Magisterial function, would sometimes commit a poor young fellow to prison, for bastardy! What *Noble*, what *Right Honourable* conduct this must needs be, taking the whole together!

Here then reader is a faint portrait of Aristocracy: and these are the men who extort great revenues from the poor White Negroes who cultivate their fields, carry their burthens, and bleed in their quarrels! And these are the men who legalize Press-Gangs—ballot poor men into the Militia—inlist them into the Regulars—call them *disposable forces*—send them into all parts of the world to make Conquests—extort Rack Rents—levy Taxes—plan Expedition—wait for Despatches—send Messengers—look for Telegraphical intelligence.—These are the men who have made thousands of Widows; and twice as many Orphans. These are the men who wallow in all manner of luxury which they have extorted from the poor: and when by oppression they have made men poor, they treat

hem as beings unworthy of liberty, and despise them for being poor ! In short, these are the men who love the chicanery and grimace of a Court—the hurley burley, the ringing of bells, the firing of cannon, and all the pomp and noise of war, but cannot long endure the peaceable pursuits of civil, social, friendly and domestic life ! These are the men that have in all ages made the earth a field of blood, and who have even at this time driven the nations mad, and turned the world upside down !

To conclude : It is my real opinion, that if all Europe had been governed by Mobs during the last twenty-two years, there would not have been one-tenth part of the shedding of human blood, the destruction of property, and the devastation of countries, that have been effected by Emperors, Kings, Aristocracies, Regular Governments and Heroes, during that period ! And moreover, whilst there is a race of men in the world who can monopolize the chief part of the land, and then let it for rack rent, assume titles, and dignities, make laws for mankind, and thus live proudly and ride upon the shoulders of the great mass of the people, in such case the bulk of the people can only be in a state of moderate vassalage, a sort of Demi-Negroes, and indeed many of these scarcely as comfortable as if they were Negroes intire !



Recipe for the Destruction OF THOSE CURSED VERMINE, CALLED HEROES.

IN this wicked world there is much Vermin, and of various kinds : such as adders, rattlesnakes, asps, centipees, scorpions and cockatrices. But these and all such like baneful reptiles are heavenly creatures when compared with those infernal vermine called Heroes.

To make a Hero, real courage is not necessary : only two ingredients are wanting, viz. *ambition* and *cruelty* ; and the former of these will soon generate the latter, if the latter should be wanting, which sometime happens in the outset. *Monsieur Esprit*, says, that Heroes have not any more courage than other men : but, says he, they have more vanity, and it is their vanity that keeps their courage up.

The pious and learned *Dr. Jertin*, in his 4th. Dissertation, says, “ An excessive desire of *praise*, joined as it often is, to a fear of ridicule, or to false notions of *honour*, hath done inconceivable mischief in the world.—It hath stirred up the ambitious vanity of Princes and Generals to wage unjust wars, and to spread ruin and desolation far and wide : nor have there been wanting fools or flatterers to call it *valour* and *heroism*, though it deserves no more applause than a pestilence, a fire, an inundation, and an earthquake ! Praise is to the ambitious man, food and raiment, and for it he must rely upon the charity of others.”

But *Bishop Hall*, of pious memory, has left a keen satire on ambitious men ; and I wish all Heroes had it by heart. The Bishop in his meditations, says, “ Ambition is torment enough for an enemy, for it affords us as much discontentment in the enjoying, as in want ; making men like poisoned Rats, which when they have tasted of their bane, cannot rest till they drink ; and then can much less rest till their death !”

Now, this too-well known description of vermin, called Rats, the destruction of which has only hitherto been a *Desideratum* : for though there are many who can make a trap that will hold a rat when it is in, yet there are but few who can induce the rat to go in : and though there are numbers who

can make up a dose which would surely poison Rats if they would eat it, yet there are few that can persuade Rats to eat poison when it is made: this sort of vermine, therefore, is still in existence.

But the surest way of destroying any kind of vermin, is to find out its proper food; then if that food can be withdrawn or withheld, the vermin will die of course. Without any farther enquiry about the food of Rats, Mice, Snakes, and Scorpions, we will enquire what is the proper food of that cursed kind of vermine called Heroes. As far as I can comprehend, after close investigation, the food of Heroes consists of Staring, Shouting, Huzzaing, Ringing of Bells, burning Candles in Windows, called illuminations, Firing of Rockets, Squibs, and Crackers, a few Toasts at a Grand Dinner, with three times three—A few fulsome Newspaper Paragraphs, always written by either fools or knaves—A fine Coat, cross-barred and filleted with Gold Lace, until it becomes like a Fool's Coat—a-piece of Red Netting round the Waist, and a very grand and costly Military Whittle, commonly called a Sword! These, I think, constitute all, or nearly all, the articles of food by which Heroes are fed and cherished. Now could any thing in the world be more easy and practicable than to cease from Staring, Shouting, Ringing of Bells, Firing Rockets, Squibs, Crackers, &c. &c. Surely not: And is it not in the power of mankind to desist from these practices as soon as they please? Most certainly it is! Is it not evident to common sense then, that when these things which are the proper food of Ambition are withheld, Ambition must die, and Heroes turn up their heels? When one or more of those infernal Monsters go through a town, can any thing be more easy than for parents to retire to their houses and call in their children, and masters call in their servants? And if in addition to this they would put up their window-shutters

until the departure of the Monster, it would be still more effectual. They might indeed proceed farther, and hang out a piece of black cloth as a token of mourning ! Now, who could hinder men from pursuing this kind of conduct ? If in addition to these means, News Printers, instead of panegyricizing Heroes, would always reprobate them : and all historians, essayists, and poets would do the same, and all men reject their company in friendly and convivial meetings, then my life for it if those professional murderers did not soon disappear from the stage of life ! Yea I believe most of them would turn their murderous weapons against their own wicked heads and hearts ; and shoot, or hang, or drown themselves ; and thus become their own executioners !

Indeed it appears to me, that this mode of persecution by privation, is capable of driving out of the world, any notorious vice whatever ; and if it should be said that no one vice has yet been driven from among men by this mode of procedure, it may be justly replied, that this mode of procedure has never yet been sufficiently acted upon, or, in plainer terms men have never yet done what has been fairly in their power to do. I think the Bible more than intimates the propriety of punishing and suppressing vice after this manner. *Make no friendship with an angry man, says Solomon, and with a furious man thou shalt not go.* Prov. 22,—24. Christ, speaking of the incorrigible offender, says, *Let him be unto thee as an Heathen and a Publican.* Mat. 18,—17. *Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them,* says St. Paul, Ephes. 5, 11. Now, as it is manifest to every one, that professed Heroes commit their cruel depredations on civilization and humanity, from no better motives than that of a desire to be stared at and talked of;

is it not the sacred duty of every friend to humanity, civilization and religion, to take up the easy weapons of privation against these Hell-hounds, and let them pine, and sicken and die for want of staring, shouting, and bell-ringing?

I am inclined to think that these Devils' Journey-men are so hateful to the God of Holiness, that had their destruction been beyond the reach of men, God would long ago have interposed by supernatural and miraculous means for their extirpation from the face of the earth. But as the means of their ruin are so evidently in the power of mankind, and so cheap and practicable, God will not, he ought not, interpose his Almighty power. For why should the Divine Being proceed to do that by miracle, which may be done in a degree by every individual child in the streets, at its option.

THE BLACK NEGROES OF THE WEST-INDIES, AND THE WHITE NEGROES OF EUROPE, *Contrasted.*

PHILOSOPHERS and Essayists have said many great and good things in praise of *Liberty*, and in reprobation of *Slavery*. For this conduct they are highly commendable. But then their dissertations being spontaneous and voluntary, they have only treated these subjects in the abstract, at least not often otherways, and consequently their principles wanted that application which was necessary to render them efficient. For, if in their Dissertations on Liberty, they had run a parallel between their principles and some existing practices

which have incessantly obtained in the world, they would thereby have brought their theory and the minds of men into a point of contact, which must have terminated more favourably to the liberties of mankind. It is from the view of the subject, *this* that I think a comparison of the *Black Slaves* of the *West Indies*, with the *White Slaves* of Europe, may tend in some small degree at least, to elucidate the real merits of European Liberty.

Black Slaves :—When a Black Slave is born, if he be alive and well, he is instantly allowed to be worth *Five Pounds* to his owner, and therefore his owner has an interest in his preservation.

White Slaves :—When a poor child is born in the house of a labourer, or mechanic, in Europe, it is not worth a *Farthing*. On the contrary, instead of being a gain of five pounds, it is, if it live, a certain *debt* of at least *Fifty Pounds*; and not uncommonly of an hundred pounds. Hence arose that unnatural and chilling adage which is frequently in the mouths of the lower orders of society, viz. that “*a dead child is a poor man’s blessing!*” And moreover when a poor man’s child dies, his neighbours often exclaim—“What a mercy it is that the poor man is eased of such a burden!” With regard to a Black Slave child, it is the master’s interest that it should live; but as to the White Negroe’s child, it is the father’s interest that it should die: and if the all-wise and benevolent Creator had not planted in the bosom of man, a strong natural affection, which is too powerful for cool, calculating prudence, some poor father’s would, like some Chinese Fathers, be tempted to help their children to die; and many others might wish for what they did not chuse to perpetrate. But, thank God, scripture, reason, and all the passions of the human breast revolt at such things; and human institutions ought to foster and cherish the pure principles of human nature.

Black Negroe :—When a Black Negroe has a family of children, he suffers little or nothing from them ; it being the interest of his Master to take care of them ; and as his children are his Master's property, the Master seldom fails to do that.

White Negroe :—The White Negroe of Europe has not only himself to maintain, but likewise all his young Negroes : and as Europe is much colder than the West Indies, their maintainance is much more expensive than that of the young Blacks. The young Blacks frequently go quite naked until ten years of age, and often still longer ; and this can always be done without any inconvenience, because of the warmth of the climate ; but even when cloths are wanted, a few shillings worth, will make a Black Negro decent.

Black Negro :—It will be said, that the Black Negroe can be sold by his Master, but the White Negro cannot. It is true, that the Black Negroe can be sold by his Master, but what does he lose by that ? He was a slave before the transfer, and he is nothing more afterwards, and there is as great a chance for his being made better as of his being made worse.

White Negroe :—The White Slave cannot be sold by his immediate employer ; but then he is called a *Subject*, which in plain English signifies an *Undercast*, and those to whom he is subject can by the laws which *they* make compel him either to *sell* or *give* himself to be a disciplined murderer, which is a far worse destination than ever falls to the lot of a Black Negro ; because Black Slaves are scarcely ever entrusted with warlike armour.

Black Slave :—But the Black Slave cannot leave his owner when he chooses : the White Slave can, he having liberty to go where he pleases.

White Slave :—The White Slave can indeed go where he pleases : only he must take care to please

to walk within the walls of his own Pinfold : For in time of war, (which by the bye is no small time) every nation in Europe is a pinfold to its inhabitant ; and even in time of peace some of them are still the same. For the White Negroes of Russia can never leave their *dearly beloved* country. The Germans and Prussians are not at full liberty (I think) to please themselves. About fourteen or fifteen years ago some of the Ministerial News Printers insultingly told the nation, “ that those who did not like the country, ought to go out of it, and leave it to itself.” Many were disposed to take this advice ; but behold ! when they arrived at the Sea-ports in order to embark for America, they found that the Custom House Officers had received orders from the *Powers that were* to stop all Artificers and Mechanics from emigration ! They stopped many ; and I think some there were who were not only stopped, but impressed into the bargain. It follows therefore that the European Negro is like an Ass in a Pinfold : The Ass in the Pinfold is at perfect liberty either to stand up or lie down—to walk about or stand still—to stand in this corner or that corner ; or he may even amuse himself with kicking if he choose : but whether he stand up or lie down—stand still or walk about—stand in this corner or that corner—kick or stand quietly, he is still an Ass in a Pinfold, and often in a state of starvation !

Black Negro :—The Black Negro is never troubled with the fear of Press Gangs ; for an Impress Officer, or an Officer of a ship of war would subject himself to a penalty of fifty pounds, were he, knowingly, to take away a Black Slave ; and therefore such an event seldom happens.

White Negro :—Numbers of Press Gangs are kept in Europe for the sole purpose of impressing White Negroes ; and moreover, so lately as De-

cember, 1812, Proclamations have been placarded in Sea Port Towns, offering a bribe (called a reward) of *Three Pound*, to any one who would give information of any White Negroe who had been at sea; in order that the said White Seafaring Negroe might be apprehended and sent on board a Man of War, in spite of his family, his tears and his teeth. The above-mentioned Proclamation went farther to offer a reward of *Fifty Shillings* for information of any Poor White Negroe, who was only a *Land Negroe*!

Black Negroe :—The Black Negroe is denied the use of Arms; and is but rarely employed even in any of the subordinate departments of warfare; therefore he frequently enjoys health and soundness, peace, quiet, and sleep; even unto old age.

White Negroe : A very great proportion of the White Negroes of Europe are compelled into the Navy or Army. In France by Conscription; in Russia and Germany (as I believe) by mere nomination; and in some other countries by Ballotation. The difference in these modes of raising men is of very little consequence to humanity: for they all want White Negroes, and White Negroes they will have; and when they have got these poor wretches together, they dress them like Harlequins and then send them by multitudes to murder each other. Now, when five, or ten, or twenty thousand of these poor White Negroes are slain in the the Field of Battle, is it of any great consequence to the poor sufferers whether they were raised by *Conscription, Nomination, or Ballotation*?

Black Negroe .—The Black Negroe lives in a hut and pays no rent—he lives in a hot climate and needs no coals: a very little wood will cook his victuals, and that wood costs him nothing—he pays no window-money; for he has no windows, nor does he need any—he pays no highway-rates, why

should he, he goes bare-foot, and therefore any sort of *ways* will do for him—he pays no militia-money, for he is not allowed to bear arms, lest he should use them in asserting his own liberty—he pays neither tythes nor Easter dues ; for he is never *christened* at the church, lest he should become a *christian* thereby—and consequently he is not allowed either to marry or bury at the church ; he therefore owes the Church Minister nothing—he cannot get into debt, for no one will trust him ; and therefore he never gets into the jail for debt—he is always just even with the world, for he owes nothing, and no one owes him any thing : and it will follow of course that though he die intestate, no great mischief can arise from that circumstance.

White Negroe : The White Negroe can indeed get into debt, but then he can seldom get out again ; and when he has got into debt to a certain degree, then his credit becomes exhausted, and he can get no farther : he is then like a Mouse when caught in a spring trap, that might save its life if it could get either in or out ; but it can do neither, and therefore it dies. Thus the poor White Negroe is dunned by his creditors, and galled by his necessities, without being able either to satisfy the one, or gratify the other ; therefore, under the semblance of liberty he is in actual slavery, for no man who is in debt which he cannot discharge, and galled by wants which he cannot satisfy, can have much of liberty, or want much of slavery, but the name.

Black Negroe : But the Black Negroe is compelled, even with the whip at his heels, to labour ; frequently, he is so ; but not always. But then it is worthy of observation, that all the Whips and *Jack Jumpers*† in the West Indies can never compel

† West India Negroe Drivers, who stand over the Negroes with large Whips.

a Black Negroe to perform one-half of the labour performed in the same time by a poor White European Negroe.

White Negroe :—The White Negroe, is not, it is true, compelled to labour by the *Whip*, at least only in some parts of Europe : but then he is compelled by his *wants* to perform twice as much labour as the Black Negroe performs : and when he has done he seldom gains more than half a sufficiency for himself and his family. But should he steal to make up the deficiency of his wants, he may then think himself well off if he gets the *whip*, and not the *halter*. I have seen a man whipped through a town for stealing three pounds of candles—another for stealing a pocket-handkerchief—another for stealing a duck ; and I knew another whipped through a town for picking up a few sticks in a wood as he passed through, to kindle his fire with : Shocking crime !

Besides all this Whipping among the White Negroes of Europe, there is Military Flogging, in some countries, which differs in nothing from other kinds of Whipping, except that it is ten times more severe. If therefore all the Whipping and Flogging in Europe, of all sorts, were placed in contrast with all the Whipping amongst the West-Indian Blacks, I have a suspicion that the balance would be but little in favor of the White Negroes of Europe !

Black Negroe :—It will be said that the Black Negroe does not get one-fifth of the value of his labour for his support. This may be true : or it may possibly be strained too far. He has a weekly allowance of money or provisions ; generally a plot of ground allotted him for his own cultivation and use ; besides the evenings and the mornings, and Sabbath Days, for times in which to labour for himself. To the poor Black Negroe the Christian

Sabbath is nothing ; because he not being allowed *christening*, of course he is not a *Christian*, he is thereby taught to think that Christianity, and the Christian Sabbath are nothing to him !

White Negroe :—The White Negroe of Europe, it is very possible to prove, obtains but about one-eighth of the profit of his labours, at the most ; and some think, not above one-tenth ; therefore he has but little advantage over his black brother, on that score ; he has not always a garden to cultivate ; and when he has, he pays dear for it. He is not allowed (as indeed he ought not) to cultivate his plot on the Sabbath Day, if he have one, because he is a *Christian* : but then it is suspected that those who allow him to be a Christian, have more of *policy* than of *piety* in the allowance ! Christianity teaches men to have a *conscience* ; and religious conscience is the handle by which State Politicians frequently wield mankind, and make them subservient to many purposes besides good ones ! This may possibly be the principal reason why the mighty rulers of Europe have thought proper to tolerate religion amongst their *subjects*, that is, as hath already been stated, their *Undercasts*, alias their poor *White Negroes* !

Black Negroe :—The Black Negroe, besides his Weekly stipend and his plot of ground, can go on the Sabbath Day into the woods, the wilderness, and the mountains, there being commonly a great deal of waste grounds in the West Indies, and he can gather all manner of fruits, such as Pine Apples, Oranges, Plantains, &c. and he can also shoot wild Boars, Fowls, and whatever other animal he may meet with, there being no *Game Laws* in the land of Black Negroes. These articles the Negroe brings or sends by his wife, to the market, on the very day he procures them : he can generally sell them ; but if not, he incurs no debt, because they

cost him nothing, except his toil in the procuration.

White Negroe :—The White Negroe is frequently out of employment, and consequently out of bread : but he has little chance to supply his wants by traversing the Waste Lands : because waste lands are now become scarce in most countries of Europe ; and as for Woods, they generally belong to My Lord *Somebody* ; and, for the most part are guarded by high walls, warning boards, and spies. But this is not the worst ; for there are in most countries hereabouts what are called *Game Laws* : by these Game Laws, Hares, Rabbits, Partridges, Woodcocks, Pheasants, Snipes, and Moorhens, are protected by Legislative decrees, codes and statutes, by Judges, Juries, Counsellors, Magistrates, Attornies, Constables, Gamekeepers, Deputy Gamekeepers, Spies and Informers.

Here then, impartial Reader, is it not a subject of serious reflection to an ingenuous mind, to behold all this weight of power instituted as it is, for no other purpose but to protect insignificant animals against the incursions and onsets of poor men ; nay frequently poor starving men. Is it not grievous to see these comparatively contemptible creatures, living, according to their wants, in affluence and abundance, and likewise under a mighty power of protection, whilst thousands of human beings can neither get food for themselves and dependents, nor protection from Military service and Pross-Gangs. Ah ! Wicked world ! Things are now come to a strange pass, when on the one hand, poor White Negroes have lost their rights, their liberties, and the bread out of their mouths ; and on the other hand, Hares, Rabbits, Partridges, Woodcocks, Pheasants, Snipes, and Moorhens, have got bread enough and to spare, and moreover, by laws and

by immunities, are become, like their patrons, a *privileged* order of beings !

To a contemplative and humane mind it must be a galling sight to behold a Bench of Magistrates and a table full of Lawyers with their curled Wigs and Black Gowns, besides Attornies, Constables, and Witnesses, all spending their time over a poor hungry wretch who has done nothing worse than that of Shooting or Hanging a *Hare*, and who perhaps would never have done that, had he been blessed with better employment.— These Magistrates and Lawyers make references to legislative acts and law books ; they make speeches and call witnesses, with as much gravity and solicitude as if they were trying a man for setting a town on fire !

Perhaps, in the end of this business, the poor Hare-hanger's ragged wife begs with tears and affecting accents for *mercy*, in behalf of her husband ; and sometimes all farther proceedings are suspended, on condition that the Hare-hanger will leave that part of the country, and go any where else ; and this kind of commutation is called *lenity* and *mercy*, because it rescues the poor White Negroe from twelve-month's imprisonment !

Sometimes, when I behold the Poor of these kingdoms with all their wants, rags, wretchednesses, privations, and burthens, I am ready to wonder what cordial assistance the Great Ones could expect from them in case of an invasion : and I think this is a point not sufficiently regarded by the wealthy part of these realms.

Perhaps it may be, that because invasions so seldom happen, they are not suspected ever to happen. But let us suppose the worst : Supposing then that an enemy were to invade our shores, could the Nobility and Gentry set their faces to

use such language as is commonly used on such calamitous occasions, and say to the poor hunger-bitten, wretched, ragged people, "Come countrymen, now is your time to shew your courage : Now is your time to resist *oppression* and *tyranny* : Now we must all fight *pro Aris et Focis*—for our *Fire-sides* and our *Allars*. We must now defend our *liberty* and *property*—our *all* is at stake, &c. &c." Now let us both speak and hear honestly : Could then, this language come with a good grace from Rack-rent Landlords ? Or from those who protect Hares, Rabbits, Partridges, Woodcocks, Pheasants, Snipes, and Moorhens, better than their poor fellow-creatures ? Or from those who countenance Press-Gangs ? Or from those who are advocates for excessive Taxation ? Or from those who ruin Commerce by wicked Wars, and make Corn dear by unrighteous devices ? In short, Could it in reason be expected, that those who are poor, hungry, and dis-spirited, would manifest any violent predilection for a country which did not afford them the common necessities of life ? Would it not be labour in vain to preach Patriotism to ragged backs and hungry bellies ?



REFLECTIONS ON LUDDISM.

IT will, no doubt, be gratifying to some Readers, to be made acquainted with the origin of *Luddism*. From the enquiries I made in Nottinghamshire, where Luddism originated, I learnt the following particulars, namely, That a good many years ago, there lived a poor man at Loughborough, in Leicestershire, about fifteen

miles from Nottingham, whose name was *Edward Ludd*: This man was not one of the brightest cast, in regard to his intellects; and, as is commonly the case with such characters, was of an irritable temper. This *Edward Ludd*, called by his neighbours *Ned Ludd*, was by trade a *Frame Work Knitter*; or in plainer language, and which is all the same, a *Stocking Weaver*. This man, being irritated, either by his Employer, or his work, or both, took the desperate resolution of avenging himself, by breaking his *Stocking Frame*. As the value of a common *Stocking Frame* is considerable, being not much less than Forty Pounds, Ned's exploit was much more admired for its temerity than its utility.

However, the consequence of this affair was, a *Bon Mot*: for, whenever any *Stocking Weaver* was out of patience with his Employer or his Employment, he would say, speaking of his *Frame*, "I have good mind to *Ned Ludd* it:" meaning, *I have a good mind to break it, &c.*

About the latter end of the year 1811, the *Stocking and Lace Weavers* of Nottingham, having been for a long time harrassed by abridged wages, and want of employment, in whole or in part, and consequently with want of bread, entered into a combination, (as report says, upon oath) to break certain proscribed *Frames*. But it should here be observed, that the interdicted *Frames* were not all of a new-invented kind, there being many destined to destruction for the sake of their owner; the owner having rendered himself notorious by abridging the workmen's wages, and underselling other manufacturers: therefore many *Frames* of an ordinary construction were broken.

These *Frame-Breakers* assumed the name of their proto-type *Ned Ludd*. Hence when they



entered a house in order to break Frames, they would say *Ned Ludd* or *General Ludd*, commands us to break these Frames, &c. These men, collectively, were therefore called *Luddites*, and their system was, and is, called *Luddism*. ‡

This system has been communicated to thousands; and as rumour says, to hundreds of thousands, and is still in existence. But it does not always exist where report places it; for every thief and highwayman now takes the name of *Ned Ludd* in his mouth when he is about to commit his depredations; and News Printers seem very willing to have it so; most of them caring very little about the difference betwixt truth and falsehood; their drift too commonly is, to enhance the value of their Papers, by saying something that will surprise and astonish their readers. The old and stale names of *thief*, *highwayman*, and *robber*, will not now adorn the great news columns of those Papers which are ever seeking to treat their Readers with a mess of Wonderment! Therefore *Ned Ludd* being a new character, is made to bear the heat and burden of the day; for whatever enormities are committed in the counties where *Ned* lives, they are, for the most part, very carefully ascribed to him.

Of the fourteen unfortunate men who were executed at York, on the 15th Jan. 1813, not one-half of them, as I am informed, were in reality *Luddites*. Either five or six of them were *Luddites*, who were convicted of entering houses and demanding fire-arms, or breaking, or attempting to break machinery; part of them upon one charge, and part of them upon the other. As to the rest of the fourteen, they were, as I am informed, utter strangers to the system of *Luddism*: but knowing something of *Luddism* by popular

‡ See Note I. p. 124.

rumour, they had designated themselves Luddites. Wherefore on entering a house they would preface their demand of money, by telling the people General Ludd was come : or that Ned Ludd had sent them to make such and such a demand. Information of the transaction soon reached the ears of a News Printer : who, glad enough of something fresh to tell his Readers, soon laid it before the public : his fellow News-men would copy his statement, and thus this wonderful news which was half true and half false, ran, in the compass of a week, all over the three kingdoms.

With regard to the conduct of the Luddites in breaking Machinery, I wholly disapprove of it : it is altogether condemnable : for in my opinion, Machinery ought to be encouraged to any extent whatever. It is also my opinion, that every man that invents any thing that will lessen human labour, is a benefactor to mankind, and ought to be rewarded, not by a patent, as is commonly the case, but out of the national purse, in order that he and others may be encouraged to new exertions, and the public benefitted by the free use of such inventions !

I pity the poor, and should hardly think myself innocent if any man felt more for them than I do ; but the remedy for their grievances, lies not in the destruction of Machinery. They are oppressed exceedingly, but not by Machinery. Those who accuse Machinery of causing any part of the distresses of the poor, have very contracted views and narrow minds, and see but a little way. They do not seem to consider that almost every thing was new Machinery once. There was a time when corn was ground by the hand ; and when Corn Mills and Wind Mills were first invented they were *New Machinery* ;

and therefore why not break and burn these as soon as any other kind of Machinery ; for if they were all stopped, and corn again ground by the hand, there would be plenty of employment for many hands ! Much the same observations might be made respecting every other kind of Machinery, and I have asked this question in order to shew the silliness of the practice.

The grievous distresses of the poor are occasioned by the Monopolization of Landed Property Rack Rents—Large Farms—War, and its Concomitants, Bad Trade and Excessive Taxation The remedy for all which is, PEACE and REFORM ; without these, bad will become worse, and worse will be utter ruin !

Nor can I forego the present opportunity of noticing the practice that has long obtained among Journeymen of various callings, respecting Apprentices. Ever since I can remember, feuds and quarrels have subsisted betwixt the Employers and the Employed respecting workmen called *illegal men* ; and also an *allowed* number of *Apprentices* : and the proper, or *lawful time* of servitude in Apprenticeships, &c. &c. To me these altercations have always appeared highly reprehensible, because at the best they originate in ignorance, and not unfrequently in something less excuseable. But, be their origin what it may, they commonly generate litigations and enmity ; and sometimes they separate chief friends, and greatly exasperate and injure individuals.

Now, is it not folly, or something worse, for one man to vex and harrass another, either respecting his servants as a Master, or his servitude as an Apprentice ? What right, either in law or reason, has one man to tease and distress another on these considerations ? There is nothing, there

can be nothing but what is both unjust and unreasonable in such conduct. With regard to Apprentices, there ought in reason to be no constraints or restrictions laid upon them or their Masters, respecting the length or shortness of their servitude: let the parties concerned arbitrate the conditions according to their own discretion.

And is it not notorious also, that there are some branches of trade, some arts and callings, that are not half so mysterious and difficult of attainment as others? and some young men there are who by dint of superior gifts and mental endowments from nature, will learn a trade in three, or even two years, as perfectly as others will learn the same trade in seven years. Is it not unjust then, is it not highly unreasonable that the narrow minded policy of selfish ignorance, should institute schemes of restriction to supersede the bounties of nature. Would it be equitable to compel a man of two yards high, to take as many strides in walking a mile, as a man of five feet? And is it any more equitable to compel young men of all geniuses and capacities, to run over the same precise round of seven years in the acquisition of a trade. It is in vain to declaim against aristocracies and privileged orders, until this selfish and vexatious conduct be abandoned: for what are all these petty monopolies and sinister exclusions, but the exhibitions of aristocracy in low life!

Hatters, Calico-Printers, Curriers, and indeed men of some other branches, have been extremely active in this kind of folly: for what is it but folly; seeing that when men are debarred from the readiest access to one calling, they will, they must betake themselves to another calling! Therefore all those laws of restriction and exclusion

have no other effect than that of harrassing and shoving men from one place to another : for these harrassed men are still in the world, and must be supported : the result of the whole therefore is, much trouble to individuals, and no gain to society.

Nor ought I to pass over the vexatious privileges and conduct of *Corporations*. The immunities and privileges of these bodies of men, have ever been, in my humble opinion, inimical to general happiness : for who does not see, or at least who may not see, that *Civil Privileges* granted to some, are *Civil Privations* to others. These privileges were, for the most part, granted by Kings in days of yore, and in times of ignorance ; and whenever the time shall arrive that reason shall over-rule precedent, and general happiness be preferred to private interest, these laws of immunity shall be abrogated, and Corporations annihilated.

I have known a *Corporation*, not quite two hundred miles from York, extort from a poor Tailor, who wished to set up in business in that part of the world, either thirty or fifty pounds, I have forgot which, as the price of his *Freedom* ! The poor Tailor toiled hard and long to pay this cruel extortion : however, he did pay it by instalments, and length of time ; and thus obtained permission to labour quietly for his bread !

Here it will be a reasonable question to ask, to what purposes Corporations apply the monies they obtain by these extortions. I pretend not to know all the art and mystery of these Privileged Bodies of men, but of one thing I am certain, namely, that they make themselves very costly *Dinners* and *Suppers* : and that at these festivals they drink a good deal of what some people are

pleased to called *good stuff* : and I must in conscience say, that it is neither decent nor honest for men, many of whom are worth hundreds, and some of whom are worth thousands, to sit 'and gormandize and guzzle the hard earnings of poor Tailors !

With regard to labourers and mechanics, and poor men in general, their case is evidently very deplorable ; but I think it is much worse in reality than in appearance. *Law, Wealth, and War*, are all against the poor man. Hence, says a French Writer, [ROUSSEAU,] "*The universal spirit of all laws in all countries, is to favor the strong in opposition to the weak ; and to assist those who have possessions against those who have none.*"— This Frenchman's allegation is sufficiently verified in the case of Masters and Workmen. Against combinations of Workmen, formed for the purpose of raising wages, there are acts and statutes plenty ; but, says *Dr. Adam Smith*, in his *Wealth of Nations*, "against Combinations of Masters for the purpose of lowering wages, there is no existing law !" And should any one say that Masters never combine for the purpose of lowering wages, I will answer him in the words of the Author just mentioned :— — "We rarely hear, it has been said, of the combinations of Masters, though frequently of those of Workmen. But whoever imagines on this account, that Masters rarely combine, is as ignorant of the world as of the subject. Masters are always and every where in a sort of tacit, but constant and uniform combination, not to raise their wages above their actual rate. To violate this combination is every where a most unpopular action, and a sort of reproach to a Master among his neighbours and equals. We seldom, indeed, hear of this combination, because it is the usual,

and one may say, the natural state of things which nobody ever hears of. Masters too sometimes enter into particular combinations to sink the wages of labour even below this rate. These are always conducted with the utmost silence and secrecy, till the moment of execution, and when the workmen yield, as they sometimes do, without resistance, though severely felt by them, they are never heard of by other people."

About two years ago, the Cotton Weavers of Manchester, and its vicinity, having long had their wages abridged in an extreme degree, were reduced by excessive labour, and half maintenance, nearly to skeletons. They were also become ragged and forlorn: and those who had wives and children, as many of them had, had the mortification to see these natural dependents as ghastly and wretched as themselves. Even single men, in general, found it impossible by all their exertions, to procure for themselves a sufficiency of the necessaries of life. † The patience of the Weavers under these severe privations, was worthy of admiration. Disinclination to turbulence, and expectation of better times, induced many to hold their patience until they lost their lives, and when they had done, but few rich people cared a straw for them.

The Weavers moreover shewed their unwillingness to disturb the public tranquillity, by peaceably sending two Delegates to Government, in order to represent their distressed situations. These Delegates found their way to *Mr Secretary Ryder*, and to him they stated the purport of their mission, hoping that he would become the medium of their complaints to the supreme authorities. But, *Mr. Secretary Ryder*, who, no doubt, eat well, drinks well, dresses well, and sleeps well, had learned the readiest way of dispatching *some sorts of*

† See Note II.

business, for he told the poor, meagre, ragged Weavers, through the medium of their Delegates, that, "*they must have patience!*" *

Being defeated in this peaceable and prudent measure, the Weavers had recourse to another, which was, to convene a public meeting of all the Masters, and some chosen Weavers, who should conjointly arbitrate the rate of Wages for the various kinds of work: Some few of the Magistrates were also friendly to this plan of procedure. A few of the Masters seemed willing to subject themselves to this mode of decision; but the greater part of them, assumed an aristocratic* air of superiority, and therefore affected to scorn the very idea of debating points and compromising differences with mere workmen! The consequence was, that at one of the meetings which had been convened by mutual consent, only three Masters made their appearance, and it was not without reason suspected, that even those three came with no better design than that of seeing who did come to the meeting and who did not, and also of carrying away all the information they could to their colleagues, respecting the transactions of the Meeting.

Here it will be proper to state the pleas of the respective parties, that is, of the *Masters* on the one side, and the *Workmen* on the other. The Masters pleaded in justification of their conduct in abridging of wages, "*the extreme badness of trade.*" The Weavers replied to this, by saying, that "*the Trade could not, at least be extremely bad, seeing they had found by long and painful experience, that in the midst of all the complaints of bad trade, there was still work enough for those who would do it for almost nothing!*" As this reply of the work people was founded in plain, broad fact, it was impossible it could be controverted with success. Indeed it is not without reason suspected that many men of

* See page 46, & 47:

capital greatly augmented their fortunes at that period, and chiefly by getting much work done for little money!

The Weavers finding the Masters unwilling to bind themselves to any terms, or to make any compromise with them, began to hold public Meetings in the open air. These Meetings were called, I apprehend, for the purpose of devising means of redress, independent of the Masters; unless the Masters would willingly accede. The Weavers also unanimously struck work, or at least, those who would not, had their work spoiled in their looms.

Now it was that Masters and Magistrates began to bestir themselves. Dragoons were called out: Special Constables were sworn: Power and alacrity were every where to be seen. Two men, I think, were killed on the occasion, at Manchester; one of the two who had no more to do in the business than the Emperor of Morocco, was shot by a Dragoon, when coming down a passage from his own house. Many Weavers were seized on this, and other occasions, and, as is usual on such occurrences, were called *Ringleaders*. They were sent to jails, and, after some time, tried, for breaking the peace, assembling tumultuously, rioting, &c. &c. and were accordingly variously dealt with, as their *crimes* merited! In the affair at Manchester just mentioned, originated the prosecution and imprisonment of that respectable Gentleman, of independent fortune, *Colonel Hanson*, who was, in consequence, imprisoned six months, and amerced, I think, fifty pounds.

Here then, reader, a brief recapitulation will give thee a distinct view of this grievous business:—In the first place, the Weavers were long impoverished by abridged Wages, even until their existence became a burthen—they then took the prudent measure of sending Delegates to represent
their

their condition to Government, and to implore redress ; and this they did more than once : but this mode was ineffectual, as the Masters failed not to counteract their efforts, either openly or secretly. They then called upon the Masters to meet them and enter into fair discussion on the subject ; they also called upon the Magistrates to join both parties, and act as Mediators in the business : but the Masters would never enter honestly and unanimously into conditions with those whom habit and commercial policy had taught them to keep at a distance ; and the Magistrates, being more nearly allied to the Masters by rank and fortune, and also more familiar with them by convivial interviews, dealt in the business with but a slack hand. It may be added, likewise, that some of the Magistrates had been Masters themselves : and to all the rest it must be super-added, that there is no existing law against the practice of abridging Wages !

The Weavers seeing no prospect of any help from *others*, began now to think of helping *themselves*. They accordingly began to assemble in large bodies in the open air, and in the day-time. They adopted strong measures : one of which was to work no more at all until their Wages should be augmented. They also spoiled the Work of those Weavers who entered not into their combination. They were then seized by Dragoons and Constables, and sent in groups to prison ; besides being loaded with foul epithets, and disgraceful names, such as *litigious fellows*, *movers of sedition*, *mischievous makers*, *disturbers of the public peace*, &c. for it is not the way of wealth and power in modern times, to redress grievances and remove oppressions ; but rather to stifle complaints, and suppress remonstrances by Dragoons, Prisons, Gibbets, and and Foul Names ! And to complete the miseries

of the miserable, the News Printers generally echo the language of authority, seldom or never having the manly fortitude to state to the public what they really believe respecting the actual condition of the poor. Thus are these words of Solomon verified, *The poor is hated, (that is, despised and abandoned) even of his own neighbour, but the Rich hath many friends.* Prov. xiv, 20. And the observation of the Famous, or, as some would have it, the Infamous *Machiavel*, are not in apposite here, *Every man*, says he, *has liberty to speak what he pleases against the people, but against a Prince no man can talk without a thousand apprehensions and dangers.*

Hear also, what *Dr. Goldsmith* says, in his *Citizen of the World* :—"The slightest misfortune of the Great, the most imaginary uneasiness of the Rich, are aggravated with all the power of eloquence, and held up to engage our attention and sympathetic sorrow. The miseries of the Poor are entirely disregarded, though some undergo more real hardships in one day than the Great in their whole lives. These (the Great) may eat, drink, and sleep; have slaves to attend them, and are sure of subsistence for life; while many of their fellow-creatures are obliged to wander, without a friend to comfort or assist them, find enmity in every law, and are too poor to obtain even justice!"

The poor Mechanics of Nottinghamshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, and elsewhere, finding themselves hemmed in by multiplied oppressions of long duration, such as, War with all its attendant evils; Provisions high; Taxes high; Wages low; frequently work scarce; *Law and Power* nearly all on the side of the oppressors; no Public Writer to state the case of the Poor, in a just and impartial manner;

News Printers, for the most part, either Knaves or Cowards, who had courage enough to libel and defame the Oppressed, but not virtue sufficient to defend them.

What then, reader, was the consequence of all this? Why, **LUDDISM!** Here then, is as plain a statement of the origin of Luddism, as I am capable, with my present information, of drawing. I am not able to say from certain information that I have a personal acquaintance with any Luddite in the world. My knowledge of the business has been picked up in an indirect way, and partly from the Newspapers.

When the Luddites began first to break Machinery, the News Printers, and especially those of London, abused them in the most unqualified language, calling them *infatuated men*; *deluded men*; *wicked men*; and *ill-designing men*. But I did not observe that any of these "infatuated" Printers had the candour to call the Poor Luddites *empty-bellied men*—*ragged men*—or *worn-out, emaciated, half-starved, dying men!* A few words of this kind might have been slipped in without any injury to the *truth*: though indeed it might have been greatly detrimental to the *interest* of those who derive a considerable revenue from the sale of truth and conscience, and who make their fortunes by deceiving and poisoning the public mind, and who are principals in bringing on national ruin; and who, strange to tell, are paid for their villainy out of the hard earnings of those whom they ruin!!!

I wholly disapprove of the conduct of the Luddites, as I have already stated, in their breaking Machinery: they ought in no wise to injure either persons or property, but then their real grievances are not to be denied and disregarded, because they are poor and imprudent. For if they be mad it is oppression that has made them mad; and So-

lomon says, *surely oppression maketh a wise man mad* Eccles vii, 7. how much more then will it make a *weak* man mad ! Besides it is not only in the very nature of things, but farther evident from Scripture facts, that multifarious and long continued oppressions will ultimately make men deaf to the dictates of reason, and prompt them to seek redress in acts of violence and desperation. It is written, *And Moses spake so unto the Children of Israel ; but they hearkened not unto Moses for anguish of spirit, and for cruel bondage.* Exodus vi. 9.

Now, say, ye Philanthropists, ye men of reason, candour, and humanity, is it just, is it equitable; first to drive men mad by oppression, and then hang them by groups in a day for being mad ? Is it equitable and christian-like in *Judges* and *Juries*, and *Counsellors* to make a mighty stir about the *effects* of oppression, and yet never utter a word about the *cause* of it ? Is it right to give a man a *halter* who only wants a *loaf* ? Pray, Sirs, where shall we learn that *Hemp* would make a good substitute for *Bread* ?

It is the opinion of both the wisest and best among men, that most of the outrages of the people in any nation whatever, are chiefly ascribable to men of wealth and power : because it is with wealth and power commonly, that ill example and oppression originate. It follows, therefore, that to the discerning few, many and horrid executions are strong indications of a bad government. And it is not without reason suspected that Foreigners appreciate the merits of British liberty and happiness, chiefly by the number of transportations and executions that take place in her dominions. Hear what *Dr Franklin* says in his *Essays*.

“ It is said by those who know Europe generally, that there are more thefts committed and punished

annually in England, than in all the other nations put together. If this be so, there must be a cause or causes for such depravity, in our common people. May not one be the deficiency of justice, and morality in our national government, manifested in our oppressive conduct to subjects, and unjust Wars on our neighbours?" *Voltaire*, also, evidently entertained the same opinion; for he asks, "How comes it that so many are infected with the pestilence of wickedness? It is that they who bear rule over them, having caught the distemper, communicate it to others!" *Philosoph. Dict.*

If things be so, may we not farther ask, How is it that Judges can reconcile their consciences to the practice of hanging men who have committed no murder, by groups in a day? Whence did these Judges derive their authority for such conduct? Not from the Bible, I am certain; for the law of Moses warrants not the taking any man's life for any other crime but murder; neither can the practice be justified by advertance to what the learned call Primordial Laws.† It will be said, that Judges have nothing to do with the Laws but to put them in execution: that they are not sent forth to legislate but only to execute. To this I answer; that if such a plea will satisfy the Divine Being, it may well enough satisfy me, or indeed any one else. But I have a suspicion that it will not satisfy the Divine Being: for though the Judges may have *Coke's Institutes*, *Blackstone's Commentaries*, and *Burn's Justice*, in their hands, yet they have a Bible also in their hands, or in their reach; and the Bible contains God's Code of Laws; and moreover, if I mistake not, in all points that affect men's lives and morals, the Laws of the Bible are paramount to all the laws in the world!

I am not very well skilled in human laws, having taken most pains to know plain right and wrong in

a moral sense: but I think that most of the existing criminal laws of Europe were made in the days of ferocity and ignorance, and are now maintained and strengthened in these our days by cruelty and avarice. And, to an ingenuous mind it must be extremely galling, to see, on the one hand, with what tyger-like fierceness, Judges, Juries, Counsellors, and Constables, set upon a poor depredator, who has neither killed nor lamed any man: and on the other hand, to observe what fawning, cringing, and honouring are heaped upon men of wealth and power, who have distinguished themselves by nothing but by racking their tenants, debauching their neighbours' wives and daughters, fighting duels, and blasting the morals of the whole neighbourhood where they reside! Good God! What an unjust, unfeeling, and unreasonable world is this in which we live! Is it not time that it should either soon mend or soon end?

With regard to the Judges in every country, where Grand Larceny, that is stealing the value of a shilling and upwards, can be made a Capital Crime, or in other words, can be punished with Death, their situation is awful in the extreme, because they have power to do what no good man would do for a thousand worlds! When I contemplate the conduct and character of Judge Jeffreys, who lived and dispensed *halvers* with unsparing hand, in the reign of James the Second, and likewise the conduct of similar Judges, I cannot help thinking that it will be an awful scene at the last day, if the greatest Judges should be found amongst the greatest Murderers!

It is not long since I saw a Judge sit in solemn pomp, and put his cap on and then pass sentence of death upon eleven poor wretches, telling them severally, that they should be hung by the neck until they were dead, and their bodies given to the Sur-

geons : not one of these poor wretches had committed, or even attempted to commit, Murder.— One of them had stolen a pair of old shoes from a Shoemaker, and put them on his own feet, because he needed them : the shoes were come a *second* time to be mended ; but that they might subject the poor thief to capital punishment, that is Death, they were valued at *One Shilling*, which constituted the offence, Grand Larceny. I saw the shoes, and thought they were worth about *four-pence* : but the inhabitants of the town who were present, said *three-pence* was the full value of them. When therefore I saw the poor fellow condemned, with others, to be hung by the neck until he was dead, and his body given to the surgeons, I felt an indignation against men, and a contempt for Law and Lawyers, which it would not be prudent to describe and divulge. I thought within myself, how few there are amongst these prating, impudent Lawyers and Attornies, here present, who have not a thousand times more villainy upon their consciences than this poor wretch : and how few there are in the whole assembly who do not frequently violate the obligations of morality as heinously as this poor unfortunate fellow has done. However, none of these poor creatures were hung : they were all respited, and then *only* transported for life ! O cursed world, where little knaves are hanged or transported, and great ones swim in wealth and pleasure, and are also flattered with titles and dignities !

The conduct of Judges in reference to their addresses to criminals, is also worthy of notice.— When criminals are convicted, it is usual for the Judge to give them some verbal reproofs and exhortations suitable to their situation : and it must be allowed that all this is very proper when appropriately performed : but I do not think that this

is always the case. I lately both heard and saw a Judge, before whom a criminal stood convicted of Petty Theft, austere-ly say to the poor culprit, "You are big enough, and able enough, to work; why don't you work instead of stealing?" This admonitory rebuke had the appearance of great wisdom and propriety, tho' I believe it was in fact founded in ignorance: for the Judge ought first to have been well assured that the poor man could have gotten work if he would have sought it. I believe the fact was, that the poor man could not get employment, and therefore he stole!

And though not all, yet I am seriously of opinion that most of the depredations committed on property in these days, might be traced to the same cause, namely, the want of employment! O wicked oppressive world: a comparatively few among men have engrossed to themselves all the Land in the world, which is the source of subsistence; the bulk of mankind are in consequence left to shift as they can; but if in this precarious state of shifting and contriving for a livelihood they should have the imprudence to transgress on the bounds prescribed by laws which wealth has made for its own security, then they are most severely dealt with; sometimes, to use Mr. Pitt's own language, even with *a vigour beyond the Law!* at least, beyond the Law of Moses! * But, strange to tell, these *vigorous* measures are often repeated without one step being taken. or one word being uttered about removing the cause of these depredations, namely, *grievous Oppression!* It is not the way of the world now-a-days to listen to reason, give way to humane sentiments, remove heavy burthens, and put it in the power of all honest men to get bread for themselves and dependents! No: it is the practice of modern Europe to oppress poor men, and almost force them to steal, and then hang them for stealing;

* *Vide Note IV.*

and what then? Mend their condition? No: Oppress them again, and then hang some again!!

I have sometimes fancied to myself the act of an angel leaning over the edge of a bright cloud and viewing the conduct of a Judge when putting on his cap and proceeding to pass sentence of Death upon a few poor wretches, some of whom may be quite callous and abandoned, but others of them not deeply depraved, not desperate knaves, but only poor and imprudent, and hurried into *one* desperate action through the pressure of pinching poverty. I have then imagined to myself that the angel knew that a Judge's salary is (as I think) three thousand pounds a-year, independent of private fortune, and that three thousand a-year amounts to more than *fifty-seven* pounds a week, and that some of the poor wretches whom the Judge so solemnly condemns and consigns to the gibbet, ~~would never have transgressed against the laws had they been capable of procuring by hard labour, not *fifty seven pounds a week*, but *fifteen shillings a week*!~~ Then I inferred, that the angel, disgusted with the numerous executions, and the oppressions which had caused them, would go up to heaven with holy indignation and join the company, and cry of those who say, *How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not Judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth!* Rev. vi. 10.

Nor can I pass by the conduct of News Printers in reference to Judges. It is the common practice of fawning, and cowardly News Printers to speak in high terms of commendation on whatever may issue from the lips of a Judge. The Judge's speech, whatever it be, is always *apposite, appropriate, and learned!* I am not among those who would wantonly speak evil of dignities, or even encourage the practice of so doing, well knowing

that respectability is essential to the character and office of a Judge ; but, neither am I willing that *truth* should be violated in support of *character* : Not is it too much to say, that truth is infinitely greater than character ! This is a secret which, judging from facts, most men have yet to learn, and among the rest of men, many News Printers. It is chiefly by supporting character at the expence of truth, that the world has been brought into its present awful situation. It is the duty of News Printers to commend the speeches of Judges whenever they are worthy of commendation ; but if those speeches be unworthy, then the News Printer ought to act the part of a man of spirit and independence, and shew, by reason and argument, that he dares to differ in sentiment even from a Judge. This kind of conduct would produce incalculable benefit to the liberties of mankind !

Finally, Oppression is a consummate evil, inasmuch as it induces ferocity, misanthropy, disaffection between man and man, ignorance and cruelty ; by it both the Oppressors and Oppressed are spoiled in their sentiment and moral feeling. Hence on the part of the Oppressors, it is their frequent practice to make out a justification of their conduct by libelling human nature, and indeed the MAKER of human nature, and saying that mankind are so ill-disposed by their very nature, that nothing but Whips, Gibbets, and Dragoons, can keep them in order !

Now, this mode of argument might be retorted upon the Rulers of Mankind very much to their disadvantage : for unless those high-minded Rulers can prove themselves of a nature and kind quite different from those whom they govern, and too commonly oppress, which I suspect they would be somewhat puzzled to do, they will have to come in for a share of the stigma and opprobrium with which

they load their common nature. And moreover, if their allegations respecting the depravity of the human heart and character be true, then this would be the best imaginable reason for greatly abridging the power of all the Rulers in the world: for what can be more horrible, only to contemplate, than ill-disposed men, invested with great power! But if they will still abide by their opinion respecting the great depravity of human nature, then I must and will insist upon it, that their *own* conduct is the best illustration of their own theory!

Even Buonaparte, in his oration which he made to his Senate, after his return from Moscow, could find it in his heart to libel both God and Man, by saying in substance what follows, namely, "That the fine theories of Philosophers respecting Governments, are impracticable; that history shews that men are bad; and that therefore governments must be adapted to the bad hearts of men, and not to the pleasing theories of Philosophers!"

To this I answer, *first*, that such language comes with a very bad grace from Buonaparte, seeing he has stood in such a variety of situations, and some of them so very dissimilar, that impartial posterity, whilst it allows his *greatness*, will think his *goodness* at least equivocal; every one knows that he has changed both his politics and his religion; that he wounded the Pope, and then healed the deadly wound: by which conduct he has put it in the power of men to say that he has adapted both his heart and his religion to his circumstances, and his interest! *Secondly*, When Buonaparte assumes the language and character of a Philosopher, he is, like the fabled Bear in the Boat, utterly out of his element. His province is among Military Tactics; of these he understands both the Science and the Practice; and by these he has got an ample share of what a foolish world has agreed to call *glory* and

renown! Thirdly, the practice of declaiming against fine theories, and of asserting their impracticability, is founded in ignorance; it being silly to say that any *theory* can be *good* and *fine* when it is *practically* the reverse. Wherefore a fine theory, can only be such when it is fine, practically. From all which I infer that the fine theories of government devised by the first revolutionary Philosophers of France, *Brissot*, *Barrere*, and others, would have been highly conducive to the happiness of mankind, had they been put in practice. But, alas! alas! Pitt, Brunswick, Frederic, Francis, and another fable old *Gentleman* from Pandemonium, through their damnable malignity against the very theory of liberty, quickly turned the cheerful dawns of human freedom into political darkness, animosity, hatred, persecution, prosecution, and bloody War: a war, which for blood and ruin has no precedent in the whole compass of historical record! And, grievous to relate, when all this infernal mischief had been kindled up in the world, mankind were impudently told that all the whole scene was the legitimate offspring of republican principles! Whereas it is known to heaven and earth, that all these evils originated in the opposition which Aristocracy and Despotism threw in the way of Liberty and Equality! By this rancorous and malevolent opposition, all Europe which might now have been as the Garden of God, for liberty and happiness, is a howling wilderness, an Aceldama, and a land of the valley and shadow of death!

Respecting the great characteristic of human nature so much controverted by Divines and Philosophers, some holding the opinion, that man is radically bad, and others, that he is radically good: My opinion is, that through the introduction of
sin

sin into the human heart, by the disobedience of Adam, man is radically depraved. On the other hand, I believe, that in every heart of man, there is also implanted, by the goodness of God, a principle of light and life, and that it is the predominance of either of these opposite principles that characterises the man, good or bad. I am farther of opinion, that with the Divine assistance which may always be had by those who will ask for it, it is in the power of man to make the good principle predominate in every heart! I believe therefore, that it is Education that makes the principal difference betwixt man and man. In short, man is the creature of *Education*!* *Solomon* was also of this opinion, when he said, *Train up a Child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.* Prov. xxii. 6.

So much am I pre-possessed with the opinion that Education makes the difference between man and man, that I am firmly persuaded, and who can deny it, that had *Sir Isaac Newton* been born and educated among the Hottentots, at the Cape of Good Hope, he would have been just as wise, and just as mannerly as Hottentots commonly are! Had the refined *Lord Chesterfield*, who was said to be the politest man in Europe, in his day, been born in Lapland, I believe it very possible that he might have lived in unlettered rudeness, and died a Lapland Wizzard. And had *Mr Howard*, the famous Philanthropist, been born and educated in South America, he might have lived an ignorant Cannibal, and have left a character, when he died, remarkable for nothing but vindictive ferocity!

Now, Education may be divided into two parts,

* The education here spoken of, comprehends the teaching of Parents, Tutors, Schoolmasters, and Ministers of the Gospel.

Public and Private ; or National and Domestic. National Education centres in, and emanates from the government. If then the government be Military, Corrupt, and Oppressive, it will be a centre of corruption and depravity, and will gradually, but surely, viciate the whole nation ; and consequently, either prevent the practice, or destroy the effects, of private education. When therefore, a nation has become generally depraved and wicked, let not the rulers of such nation lay cruel and vindictive hands upon the people, and then think to justify their conduct by defaming both Man and his Maker. Seeing it is a truth legible on the face of history, and maintained by the wisest and best of men, —that every nation is good or bad, as it is well or ill governed ! In a word, when a nation becomes so vicious, that it is necessary to hang great numbers of people, in order to keep the rest in subjection, it is a sure evidence that the Rulers of that nation have forfeited all claim to veneration and confidence !

My conclusion is, that the Ever Blessed God has made man fully capable of being good, and that his goodness depends upon his Education, and his Education depends, in great measure, upon the Government under which he lives. *Plato*, the great Philosopher, held the same opinion. So likewise did *Lycurgus*, the famous Grecian Legislator. And among many other learned men, of modern times, the pious and learned *Dr Jortin*, held the same sentiment, as the following extract from his third Dissertation will shew :

“ The most judicious Philosophers, and the most acute observers of the human frame and constitution, (says he) have pronounced man to be a creature naturally tame and gentle, and sociable and tractable, who, by the help of good laws, and good examples, and good teachers and Governors, may be made good and useful to the world.

"Our adversaries will not admit thus much. They have commonly, no good opinion of God, so no favourable opinion of men; in short, some of them have no esteem of themselves, and finding little moral honesty at home, in their own breasts, they are willing to suppose the rest of the world to be no better. And this is probably one great motive which induces them to draw an hideous portrait of human nature, loaded with the ugly features of craft, baseness, malice, suspicion, selfishness, and dissimulation, by which they have transformed this earth into a hell, where, as many men, so many Devils surround us!"

FRAGMENTS.

"The more virtuous any man is, the more difficult it is for him to harbour a suspicion that others are wicked."

CICERO.

"Great men of a vicious life are doubly pernicious to the State, as being not only guilty of immoral practices themselves, but likewise the authors of spreading them among their fellow-citizens. The mischief they do, is owing not only to their being debauched themselves; but also to their debauching others. In a word, they do more harm by their example, than by the crimes they commit."

PLATO, that prince of genius and learning was of opinion that States would never be happy, till either wise or learned men took the government upon them; or those who governed applied themselves to the study of wisdom and knowledge. Such a conjunction of power and wisdom was, in his mind, abundantly capable of promoting the happiness of public communities."

IBID.

"The culture and manurance of minds in youth hath such a forcible, though unseen operation, as hardly any length of time or contentment of labour can countervail it afterwards."

LORD BACON.

The following is in substance the sentiment of the great and good Mr. BAXTER, the reference to whose own words I have lost.

"If parents, Tutors and others, were to give proper attention to the education of children and youth, there would scarcely be any necessity for Ministers of the Gospel. But because of the remissness of Parents, Tutors, &c. God has thought proper in his wisdom and goodness, to institute the Preaching of the Gospel, as a supplement to their inattention and negligence."

"If man be naturally vicious, those who detest vice must detest man; a deduction that leads to anti-social principles." ZIMMERMAN.

"Man is born good. It is Society that renders him wicked! and our mode of education prepares the way for it!" ST. PIERRE.

NOTES.

NOTE I. Page 100. The following is said to be an accurate Copy of the Oath administered to every man who entered amongst the Luddites, in Nottinghamshire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire; and other places, in the years 1811 and 1812.

Copied from B.U.'s Weekly Messenger of July 13, 1812.

I *A. B.* of my own voluntary will, do declare and solemnly swear, that I will never reveal to any person or persons, in any place or places under the canopy of heaven, the names of the persons who compose the Secret Committee, either by word, deed, or sign; their proceedings, meeting place, abode, dress, features, marks, complexion, connexions, or any thing else that may lead to the discovery of the same; on the penalty of being put out of the world by the first brother that shall meet me, my name and character blotted out of existence, and never be remembered but with contempt and abhorrence. I further swear, that I will use my best endeavours to punish by death any traitor or traitors, should any rise up amongst us, he or them; and though he should fly to the verge of nature, I will pursue him with unceasing vengeance. So help me, God, to keep this Oath inviolable."

Note II. Page 106,

Proportion between the Price of LABOUR, and the Price of PROVISIONS.

According to Papers laid before Parliament in 1807, the proportionate advance between Workman's Wages and Provisions, since the year 1780, is as follows:

Advance,	{ In Workman's Wages	{ 29	7	1	} per Cent.
	{ In Provisions - - -	{ 84	8	2	

The truth of this Statement was not denied in the House of Commons,
Sunday Review, Feb. 10, 1811.

Another Testimony to the same Purpose, and still more recent:

"It was proved (in 1812) by the evidence of Mr. JOHN WOOD, of Bolton le-Moors, Mr. FRANCIS PLATT, of Saddleworth, Mr. JEREMIAH BURY of Stockport, and others, that the distress was as great as it was in 1800 and 1801, for though provisions were not quite so scarce, the people had plenty of work at that time, at double price, that the food of the lower orders was much limited, great numbers never

tasting animal food at all :—that they subsisted generally on Oatmeal boiled in water (Oatmeal Porridge), and if they could get Potatoes or something of that kind, for dinner, it was as good as most, and, better than many could obtain :—and that the Cottagers were now unable to pay their Rents."

Such was the condition of the Poor in the North of the Island, a few weeks ago : and the Compiler of this Article can affirm, from his own observation, that the general state of the lower orders, in the West of England, is at this moment quite as pitiable if not more distressing. The Poor of the Metropolis, notwithstanding the enormous price of the necessaries of life, and their occasional want of work, are really living comparatively in comfort. The humblest Labourer here frequently gets meat, (flesh meat) and always bread and cheese, with beer of some sort, for his meals ; but a West Country peasant can obtain for his family no such food.—For breakfast they have what they call BROTH, a miserable mixture, composed of meal and hot water, with a little salt :—The dinner consists of bread and water, for potatoes are now at too high a price for them : and in the evening, tea of the coarsest sort, OCCASIONALLY sweetened with the coarsest sugar and Brown Bread concludes the scanty and hard fare of the day. It is a fact, that the Pigs in Somersetshire, are quite as well lodged, and BETTER FED, than the Poor : for the swine get plenty of skimmed milk, while the peasants hardly ever taste it, and as rarely procure either cheese or butter.

How indeed can they ? The Wages of a hard-working Peasant is from EIGHT to TWELVE shillings a week : his wife, if able to work, and can get work, may obtain THREE or FOUR shillings : and the children as many Sixpences. Upon an average, a family of six, if in health and full employment, cannot earn more than FOURTEEN SHILLINGS weekly, to provide food, clothing, rent, &c. &c. The consequence of this is, that on any occasion of sickness or want of work, they are obliged to throw themselves on the Parish for aid, and with every inclination to maintain themselves by the sweat of their brows, are compelled to become dependents and mendicants.

Is this a fit state of Society ? Can it, or ought it to last ? Is it decent, that an honest and laborious father of a family should daily toil from morning till night, and yet be unable to provide himself and family with common necessaries ? No ; it is every way shameful, and even monstrous ; and if the present " happy system " be persevered in, one of two things, it is to be feared, must take place. Either a spirit of insubordination will manifest itself by illegal and violent acts — or the people will totally lose their high national character, and sink into that wretched and hopeless slavery, which has produced on the Continent most of the evils by which it has of late been so dreadfully scourged."

The Examiner, No. 242, Sunday, Aug. 16, 1812.

Another Testimony which I think is not foreign to the subject in hand,

" The Farmers in the West of England (says a Correspondent) who are, in general, very opulent, contrive to get themselves chosen

Overseers, Constables, Churchwardens, &c. &c. for their respective Parishes; and, wherever this is the case, the Poors' Rates are very high. For, not one married labourer can be found in these parishes, who is not a Pauper, his wages being inadequate to support a wife and even one child, although his wife may likewise earn something, so that the cunning Oppressive OVERSEER-FARMER (notwithstanding the great profit he gets by the labour of his husband-men) contrives to make those persons of his parish, who follow other Trades, and those who have no Trade at all, but live upon their various incomes, pay, in addition to their other very heavy Taxes, a very heavy Poors' Rate, which is in fact, paying a great part of his (the Farmer's) Labourers' Wages, and yet the Paupered Labourers, by the sweat of their brows, enable these Farmers to drink their WINE, keep their HUNTERS, and their GIGS!

Independent Whig, Jan. 18, 1849.

Note III. Page 113.

HAVING mentioned PRIMORDIAL LAWS, it may not be amiss to give the Reader the following Quotation from CICERO, as, by it, he will receive both good explanation and some edification.

"Right reason, or that which is agreeable to nature, invariable, eternal, and with which all mankind are impressed, is in every respect a true law. It expressly commands our duty, and strictly forbids all treachery: it is only on the virtuous, however, it has this good effect, for on the vicious it makes no impression. Nothing can supercede this law, nothing retrench it, or make it void. It is neither in the power of the Senate or people to dispense with it. It requires no comment, it wants no interpreter. This law differs nothing at Rome from what it is at Athens, nor is it any other at present from what it will be hereafter; it is an eternal and immutable law, that is universally binding over all nations, and at all times. Hence it is, that God becomes, as it were, the common instructor and governor of mankind. It was he who composed, examined, and promulgated it. Whoever therefore acts contrary to this law, opposes his own interest, and spurns at the true dignity of man; and by this very means, will be sure to suffer the greatest of all punishments, though he escape what commonly goes under that name."

Note IV. Page 116.

From public records, namely, Newspapers and Calendars, I have taken the following statement of a fact which took place at the *Thetford* Assizes, Norfolk, in March, 1813:

"ROBERT PLUM, aged 22, and RUSH LINGWOOD, aged 18, committed January 16, 1813, charged with wrongfully entering the Warren of Thomas Robertson, of Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Farmer and Warrener, and taking from a trap, one Coney, his property. *Plum transported for seven years—Lingwood two years imprisonment!*"

I have been informed, that the Judge, when about to pass sentence on these two young men, said, among other things, "that had there been twenty Rabbits in the trap, the prisoners would have taken them all!" If the Judge did make this observation, it must have been intended to justify the severity of the sentence. For my own part I cannot discern any great depth of sagacity in it, as I seriously believe that all the Tailors, Tinkers, and Chimney Sweepers in the nation are of the same opinion with his Lordship. Wherefore I hope his Lordship had not been destroying his health, and wasting his nights and days by poring over Puffendorf's Law of Nature and Nations, Coke's Institutes, and Blackstone's Commentaries, in order to make this discovery!

But *seven* years transportation and *two* years imprisonment for stealing *one* Rabbit out of a trap, and the trap in a Warren, will be thought by many a very uncouth illustration of that language which is so often rung in our ears, viz. *That the laws of England are the best and mildest laws in the whole world!* Nor will it be a sufficient plea to say that *Plum* and *Lingwood* might be old offenders; because the former being but *twenty two*, and the latter but *eighteen* years of age, they will be called *young* men; and therefore it will appear, at least, to people of mere common capacity, as little better than a solecism in language to call *young* men *old* offenders!

Upon the whole, when I behold *great Men*, so called, seducing and prostituting poor men's daughters! sometimes sending the bodies of these daughters prematurely to the grave, and almost always sending their souls to the devil; and when I see that these *great*

Men are *Great Men* still, and that they are never transported for *seven years* for such infamous conduct! And farther, when on the one hand I observe a *Press Gang* in every Sea Port, which is kept on purpose, and even well rewarded for *stealing Poor Men*: and on the other hand, when I see *two Poor Men* severely handled for *stealing one Poor Rabbit*, I am almost ready to wish that I could beg an old Balloon of Mr Blanchard, and procure a team of Wild Geese from the Fens of Lincolnshire, and with these take a final journey to the moon, and thus bid an everlasting farewell to all those countries that are *blessed with Rabbits, Press gangs, great Men, and glorious Constitutions!*

Creme, Printer, 30, Bridge-street, Sheffield.



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FINIS.

The Author's distance from the Press has occasioned the following small errors, which the candid reader will correct with his pen.

Page 28, line 30 from the top, for Marble Statutes, read Marble Statues. Or, delete the latter t, and the word will be right. N. B. This Error is only in some of the Copies,

Page 29, line 21, for, I am bound; read *we are bound*

35, line 22, for Praetises, read *Practices*

36, line 14, for, Praetise which Aristocracy, read *Practice at which &c*

43, line 5, from the bottom, after the word *Accidents*, put a hyphen (-)

47, line 9, from bot. for, neither knaves or fools, read *nor fools &c*. Same page, line 4, for Theologians each, read *teach &c*. Supply the t with a pen.

48, line 10, for, and there is a better, read *and that there is &c*.

51, line 15, for, o their praise, read *to their praise*

53, line 20, for, much harm, since ; its foundation; read, much harm ; since its foundation &c

58, line 10 from top, for, rather that be, read *rather than be*

60, line 29, for, Water Selles, read *Water Sellers*

65, lines 19, 20, for meddlers in mischief, read *meddlers in others' mischief*

68, line 34, for, Poyery ; read *Pogery*.

70, lines 8 and 14. Errors in punctuation.

72, line 5 from bottom, for thanksgiving; read *thanksgivings*; *ibid*, l. 4, for sticking read *striking*.

89, line 5, from top, for the view, read *this view of*

